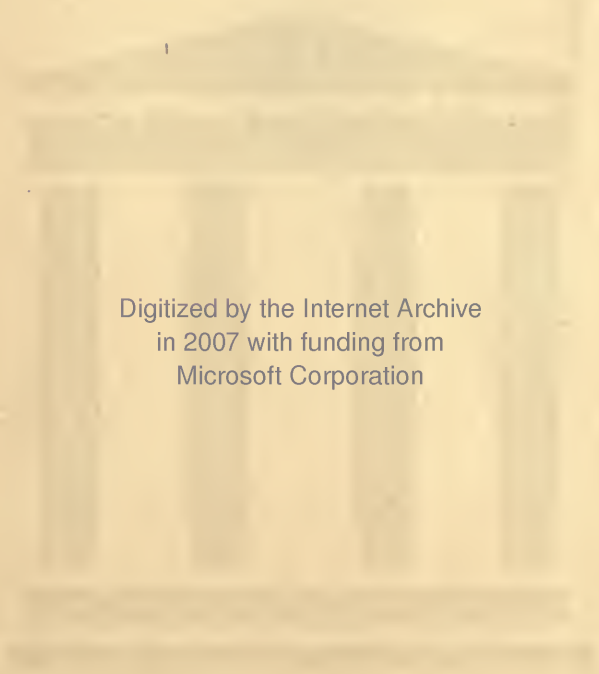


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*Portrait of the Author as he was "seen" by
El Greco (Domenico Theotocopuli) in Toledo
in 1578. Revisaged in London in 1910 by
Vernon Hill "gazing into the past."*

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SOME CHAPTERS ON AUTHORS, BOOKS
AND MINIATURES

George Charles
BY
DR. G. C. WILLIAMSON

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

NEW YORK
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First published in 1921

NOTE

Two of these articles have already appeared in *The Nineteenth Century*, in 1905 and 1908.

One has already appeared in the *New Review*, in 1894.

They are here corrected, added to, and reprinted at the request of friends and by the kind permission of the proprietors and editors respectively of these two publications.

The other material has not appeared in print before, save that a *part* of Chapter XII. is to be found in the privately printed catalogue of his Collection of Watches which I compiled for Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, and of which only eighty-five copies were produced.

G. C. W.

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APR 29 '55

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* NOTE ON THE FRONTISPIECE

A JOKE

The clever caricature of the author, reproduced at the special request of several friends, was drawn by Vernon Hill. Some conversation had taken place, when the author was sitting for his portrait, concerning a certain Guzman ancestor whose portrait has been painted by El Greco, and the artist in a jocular mood declared that the doctrine of re-incarnation was a true one, and "I will draw you," said he, "as you were when you sat to El Greco." This portrait is the result.

BEHIND MY LIBRARY DOOR

CHAPTER I

OUIDA

THERE are many books in my library bearing inscriptions in the handwriting of the author, and such volumes have a special and particular interest. The interest is intensified when the writer has passed into the Land of Silence. One such lies before me at this moment. My name is written upon its title page, and the following words are added, "In token of many points of sympathy between us—Ouida." The book is "The Massarenes" which Ouida published in 1897, and which she herself regarded, so she told me, "as the best book she had ever written." It is extraordinary to notice how seldom authors have any true sense of proportion, when speaking of their own books, and how, as a rule, they attach a fictitious importance to some volumes. It is seldom also that the opinion expressed by an author is confirmed by posterity. In a letter quoted in the recent memoir of Ouida, she says about this very book, "There is not an iota of exaggeration

in my book, and I am thankful I have lived to show English society as it is; the Englishman of our old ideas is dead, or nearly so." Her statement is curiously inexact. She was amazed at my opinion that "Bimbi" contained some of her best work, and regarded that as a volume of trivial importance compared to others.

How well I remember my first visit to Ouida, when, in 1900, I went over, at her request, from Florence to interview her in her villa at Sant' Alessio, near Lucca. It was not a very easy day's excursion, the journey from Florence to Lucca was a tiring one, and the day was hot.

I had to leave Florence quite early in the morning, and on reaching Lucca, went at once to obtain some refreshment, but did not stay long, as I was anxious to give as much time as possible to the forthcoming interview. The house was difficult to find. It was a long drive from Lucca, and until one got near to Sant' Alessio, the people did not seem to know for whom I was seeking, but at length I arrived at a charming old-fashioned villa, and was greeted by a perfect roar of barking from the numerous dogs that Ouida had about her. The gates were locked, the bell was at a distance and not a loud one, and it was some time before I could gain admittance, and even then, having once obtained access to the house, it was again some little while before I could see my hostess.

I had come over on a mission from one of the London publishers, who had been trying without success, by correspondence, to arrange terms with Ouida concerning the issue of a new book, and had seized the opportunity of my being in the neighbourhood to ask me to go over and do my best to settle the business.

I was received by a little, excitable old lady, dressed in greyish-white silk, and standing upon a large white bearskin. Her skirt was cut short, so as to reveal her exceedingly small feet, of which I had already been told she was inordinately vain. She wore silk stockings to match her dress, and pale blue satin shoes, and presented a striking appearance. Her hands were as beautifully proportioned as were her feet, and the lace-edged sleeves of her gown were quite short, to reveal her hands and wrists. Her hair was white, her eyes appeared to me to be a cold grey-blue, clear and remarkable. She stood erect in stately fashion on the big white rug, holding in her hands her own little favourite dog, which she called Baby, and having round her a group of other dogs, all of them barking furiously. We could not hear ourselves speak for a moment, then she silenced her dogs, and we both sat down. I stayed a long time with her, and we talked well into the evening, till it was time for me to return to my carriage, drive back to Lucca, and home to Florence, and it was

exceedingly late before I reached the latter place. I had one of the most interesting conversations that I ever had in my life, it was uninterrupted, and I really was unconscious of the passing of time, until I rose to leave, when I began to feel that I should have been glad of some refreshment, and by the time I reached Lucca, was eager to obtain at least a cup of tea before I started on my return journey. Unfortunately, however, my journey back to Lucca was a slow one, because my driver met a number of oxen, those great white beauties with large appealing eyes, with which the traveller in Italy is so familiar, and as usual, they marched solemnly on exceedingly slowly, and I was almost stopped in my progress, only reaching Lucca just in time to catch the last train back to Florence. Shortly after my return, I had a long letter from the famous novelist, the first of a considerable series of letters, all of which I have retained. In it she says, "I fear you had a tiring and a tedious day, and I am shocked to think that I never even offered you a cup of tea." In another letter, later on, she writes, "How well I remember your visit. I have always regretted that I did not give you even a cup of tea. It was monstrous." And, on another occasion, referring to the same visit, she writes, "You are very good indeed to thank me for such a Barmecide feast as you enjoyed here."

I found Ouida a difficult person with whom to deal. The book was ready, and I might take it if I wished, provided I was prepared to accede to her terms. I was told its title, but I was not permitted to read a word of it. She declined altogether to tell me anything of what the book contained, or even to give me a rough idea of its size, and it was quite impossible from her manuscript to determine what that size would be, because she wrote on huge sheets of paper with vast spaces between each line, and her hand-writing was very large, often only two or three words stretching across a sheet of foolscap.

I had taken with me one or two sample books, and I found that she was not satisfied with anything that I showed her, and later on, she wrote to me, at some considerable length, concerning the proposal that was made. She says, "Cannot you make the publishers understand that I am accustomed to be deferred to, and not dictated to, over all the matters concerning the issue of my works," and then going on to criticise what I had shown her, she adds, "Compare the exquisite get-up of the 'Critical Studies' or of 'The Altruist' with the get-up of the art books which you were so good as to give me, and to send me." One of the most charming of these books, and one on which I rather prided myself, she considered to be "extremely common, in binding, paper and everything!" "The letter-

press," she adds, "was very inferior," and then, finally, she writes, "Unless the boards are bevelled, no volume can look well, and a narrow book is always ugly. I hope you will endeavour to make these publishers conform, not to their ideas, but to my wishes."

In the same letter, she concludes by saying, with regard to the same publishers, that "the sum which they pay in advance gives them no title whatever to choice in the matter of getting up of my books. I am the final authority." All these extracts serve to remind me how difficult a person Ouida was on questions of business, as her great obsession was her own importance, and the right she had to demand preferential treatment over any other author. Notwithstanding this strange side of her character, I have never met a more interesting conversationalist, and our talk ranged over a mass of subjects. Frequently, however, it came back to one of her favourite topics, that of animal life, and especially of the life, history and character of dogs. Perhaps unwisely, I had told her of a story of my own home, in which I had been obliged, greatly against my will, to destroy a favourite dog, because he had suddenly developed a passion for snapping, and his presence was dangerous to my children, and to my friends, whom he attacked indiscriminately. He had been the quietest and most delightful of companions, but the veterinary

surgeon told me that there was a trouble in his ear, which had caused this irritable temperament, and he advised me with much emphasis to have the dog destroyed. I adopted the most humane process, the use of a lethal chamber, and personally was convinced that I had acted rightly. Ouida was indignant. She persisted that I had been very wrong. In one of her letters she says, "I wish you had not told me of your poor dog. I am so sorry for him. You say he did not suffer. How can you know? He *must* have suffered much, if only in being taken to, and left alone in that place of death."

In another letter, she says, "Pray do not confound canker with cancer.* The former is quite curable. Dogs do not bite because they feel pain. When you went to the sea, you should have given your dog a friend to keep him company. You would have found him happier when you returned. Neglect in such matters is the cause of many canine ills. You did *not* do right in having him killed."

She never would allow this subject to drop, and returned to it over and over again, expressing an almost absurd indignation with me for putting an end to the life of this dog, and apparently caring nothing for my anxiety concerning my children and my friends. In one of the last letters I had from her, she says, "I am grateful to you for not forgetting poor

* I had not done so. I knew well the difference between them.

Sant' Alessio, and my dear dead Baby. I often think of your poor little sacrificed dog, oftener perhaps than you do. Even you, who love dogs, do not regard dogs enough as sentient beings, with rights and claims." Many of her letters refer to her own dogs, and in one of them, she tells me of the death of her own little favourite, in the following words, "My beloved Baby took his gay little spirit into silence and darkness, to my infinite sorrow. Ten years was too short a space for that radiant and happy nature. It was the first pain he had ever known." In another letter, in which she talks of her own pets, she says, "Of those that you saw out of doors with me, there are living and with me Lillo, Ruffino, and Goldoni, and a new and young black poodle called Marino. When he was three months old, he was being played ball with by the boys on the sands at Viareggio. They had tied his four legs together, and screamed with laughter when he fell and cried out. So I bought him, and he is a very clever and nice little dog." Even then, however, she ends up the letter, "I often think of your poor dog, killed for a *mere idea!*"

At the time of my visit, the muzzling act was in full force, and Ouida was furious about it, and would not discuss it in any quiet way. She said, "If I were to come over to England, I should shoot Walter Long. I so hate him," and then she added, "I suppose I should be put in

prison, and sacrificed because I love God's creatures better than many men who are not God's people at all." In one of her letters, she writes about this. "I hoped better things from the new Government, for the entrance into England of dogs, but Carrington is just as silly and arbitrary as was Walter Long. I reminded him," she continues, "of John Hollingshed's saying that 'rabies must have been spontaneous once,' but he is inexorable and, like most inexorable people, utterly stupid. The great annoyance given about dogs greatly diminishes the number of those kept."

It was unfortunately a part of Ouida's nature that she could never grasp any other side of a subject than the one immediately presented to her, and her passion for dogs absolutely blinded her to the great danger of rabies, and caused her to hold absurd ideas against the necessity for trying to crush out that most terrible disease.

She also violently attacked everybody who did not agree with her, and especially anyone who had not paid her as much deference as she considered she deserved. Poor Lady Burton came in for some very strong remarks in her letters. She did certainly admit that this noble woman had "a fine nature," but went on to say, "She bored Sir Richard, and she ran into debt, which he alone would never have done. She did not know how to efface herself. She became more

or less of a nuisance"—and so on—all of them wholly inaccurate statements, made from insufficient knowledge, and showing a cruel feeling towards a person whom she did not in the least understand, and whose abilities she was quite unable to appreciate.

While she was living, I said little or nothing about my visit to her, because she impressed upon me over and over again that she did not wish any reference made to her in the public press, and yet at the same time I am quite sure that there was no one more anxious to be spoken well of in public, and more desirous of having mention made of herself, her life and her works, than was Ouida.

Her tenacity respecting her name was another strange characteristic. I had addressed her once as *Mademoiselle de la Ramée*, on another occasion, after I had seen her, when she told me to write to Lucca, I wrote *Mademoiselle Ouida* and added the name of her villa, and the name of the little district, *Sant' Alessio*, and then I got a very sharp letter to say, "Address only Lucca, my post bag goes into the town. No other name should be put than Ouida." When she was at *Viareggio*, I wrote to her there, and was again reprimanded, and I was told that, even if she was away, I was only to write to Lucca. "Ouida, Lucca, is address enough, and will always find me, wherever I am in the world."

Of her latest publishers, she spoke in extra-

ordinarily cordial terms. She had, as is well known, quarrelled with many, and she was not an easy person for any publisher to deal with. She spoke with fair cordiality about one or two whom she had met, but in one of her latest letters, referring to the book which she did not live to complete, she says, "Macmillan's have been of a kindness and indulgence which deserves my deepest gratitude." In another letter she paid this firm a very high compliment, describing them as one of the best and fairest of business houses, a compliment which many can endorse.

My correspondence with her continued well away down to the end of her life, to the final sad days of Viareggio, and her letters were always interesting and acceptable. The same old subjects were continually referred to. In the last letter but one that I had from her she says, "The rights of animals are disregarded, even by many of those who are their friends," and then, quite unable to resist the chance of giving me a dig—"as you disregarded your poor little Irish terrier's." In the same letter she compares town and country, expressing in unmeasured terms her preference for the country, and abusing London, and all London life, saying that the houses in London are nothing but barns. She then goes on to criticise some remarks of Carlyle, which I had quoted, and which happened to have reference to the beauty and dignity of

work, and states that there was no beauty in modern work, and no dignity, adding, "In most instances its value is dubious. I think that most of the work that is done in our time would be better left undone. It is chiefly," she adds, "rubbish, and of a thousand books issued there are only ten (perhaps) worth the paper on which they are printed, and in very many cases books are never read," she goes on to say, "except by those who already hold the opinions of the writers. This is the great difficulty. You cannot reach persons already enveloped in their own opinions. Here and there perhaps, some wavering mind may be strengthened, some hesitating soul won over, but alas! it is rare."

One of her very latest letters refers with strong indignation to the article that appeared in the *Daily Mail* concerning her life at Viareggio, pointing out that her means were but small; and that the time had come when the nation should help her. She writes to me with unmeasured indignation. "Need I tell you the rage, the humiliation, the impotent disgust, which the lies of the *Daily Mail* have excited in me. It is infamous that newspapers can make sensational articles at the cost of one's good name. They ought to be sent to the treadmill. A correspondent," she says, "of the *Daily Mail* came over here to interview me, and I would not see him, hence, I suppose, his revenge."

It was a strangely sad story. There is no doubt that towards the end of her career, she had got out of touch with life. Her books were not the success she had expected them to be. She was crippled in means by her great extravagance in previous years; and then, when the report was spread that she was in destitute circumstances, she wrote indignantly, denying that her necessities were pressing, and refusing to accept any proffered help. I felt convinced that, for all her pride, she needed it, but that was her secret, and it was no part of my business to pry into it. I was very glad to do the best I could for her on the occasion of my visit, and the correspondence which followed it was a source of great interest and pleasure to me.

I do not think that Ouida in person could ever have been pretty, but, when I saw her, she was undoubtedly impressive because her complexion was of extreme beauty, pink and white like that of a young girl. Her hair was beautifully dressed, her eyes were clear and full of expression, and the fascination of her hands was quite irresistible. It was later on in our correspondence that I reminded her of her promise to send me one of her own books. She said that she had then with her two or three examples of every book of importance that she had written, and, in consequence, I asked her to pick out for me what she considered

to be her best book. Hence it was she sent me "The Massarenes," and the volume is a treasured memorial of an interesting visit and a fascinating correspondence.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE GISSING

THERE are three books which stand near to one another in my library, all of which relate to the same person. One contains the saddest story that has perhaps ever been told, of a literary man; another is, in my opinion, one of the most beautiful books of meditation that was ever written, while the third is a book of travel, one of the most fascinating of its kind. The third of the number is called, "By the Ionian Sea, Notes of a Ramble in Southern Italy, by George Gissing." The book of meditation is entitled, "The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft," and the memoir is that wonderful book by Morley Roberts, which he styles, "The Private Life of Henry Maitland," and under these two latter pseudonyms, as is well known, is hidden the mystery of George Gissing. I have said that it was one of the saddest stories that has ever been written, and at the same time it was one of the most strange because it has always seemed to me, and probably to everybody else who knew Gissing, a mystery that a man who possessed such wonderful charm, such extraordinary knowledge, and scholarship of

such a high quality, should ever have made two steps in life equally disastrous, the second in the full knowledge of what had happened to him under the first, and thereby have ruined his life.

I suppose it was necessary for Morley Roberts to tell the story in full, and certainly, he has performed the task well, for he has written with discrimination and such reticence as was desirable. He communicated the facts under assumed names, but there was little of obscurity in the veil, and it was easy for those who had known Gissing to fill in all the details of the painful story. Gissing's first wife had died when I knew him. From his second he had for some time been separated, and then, later on, when again I met him, he was living in that strange and absorbing friendship with the lady whom Roberts called Thérèse. The last letter I had from him was from St. Jean de Luz, and came to hand not very long before he died. It was dated February 23rd, 1903, and it was in reply to what I had written to him about his Ryecroft book. There were only two books Gissing prepared in which he was able to let himself go, and of these undoubtedly the chief was the famous one "By the Ionian Sea," and it is difficult to exaggerate its rare charm. It is also difficult to define it. The volume is undoubtedly a storehouse of varied information. It is also a poetical appreciation, but it is far more than that, giving us in indirect

fashion a great deal of evidence about the author himself. He lays himself bare for our enjoyment. He allows us to come into close contact with his own sympathies, and to travel with him in intimate friendship. We find him moved by sonorous words of Latin and Greek in strange and deep fashion. They stir his feelings as they stir ours in his fervid sentences, and he finds in them a noble solemnity and historical significance that nothing else can possess. The volume was written by a scholar, who delighted to refresh his memory with the old classical lore with which he was so familiar in early days, and to allow the troubles that had fallen on him all through his life to drift away for a while. He was able, as we have said—to let himself go, and the real George Gissing was revealed in that book. Nothing else shows him as he was, but the nearest, after the “Ionian Sea,” is that fascinating book of meditations which he issued under the name of Ryecroft, and which he says he wrote merely for his own satisfaction. This is a volume that a critic reads over and over again. It interests, it nourishes, it calms. It is a permanent addition to the pleasures of a bookman, and although one can see that the shadow of his big trouble was hanging darkly over Gissing when he wrote, yet it is a personal testimony of joy, of escape, of contentment, and in writing it he was at least able to feel that

he had the leisure to taste the simple realities of life, and the inner spirit of his books.

However intimately one knew Gissing, there were always phases of his character which eluded definition. He scorned the Renaissance, and yet most truly was he a child of the Renaissance. He was a finished scholar, but yet possessing strange and deadly animal passions, and this curious combination brought him into intimate touch with the Humanists, and with the early Italian scholars. There were many elements of pathos about his life. It had been crowded with sadness, and yet, strange to say, it differed from almost every other sad life with which I am acquainted, in the fact that Gissing, so far as I could tell, never seemed to have had a great, an overwhelming passion, in life. It has been well said that he was "never swept off his feet." Had he been so, he would have been saved, perchance, from the vortex of evil which caught him up and spun him round, with increasing pain at every moment, and yet this strangely mysterious man, who never understood real love, that love for a chosen woman of kindred spirit to himself, possessed tender sympathy and deep affection for the inanimate creation, a lover of trees, lanes, and flowers, with a strange absorbing love for all nature, and coupled with that, an emotion for buildings that represented the past, and that brought up before him memories of classical allusion.

Add to this curious combination an intense Socialism, a wild Radicalism, which revealed itself at odd intervals, and you have a faltering attempt to explain some of the mysteries of Gissing's life.

When he wrote to me from the Pyrenees, his love of Nature proclaimed itself in one very definite sentence: "Oh, to live," said he, "in Sussex or Surrey, to see spring come up over the heaths. Here, certainly, we have primroses and violets, yes, even here and there hartstongue and spleenwort, but these things on the slopes of the Pyrenees are indeed not the same as they are in the lanes of England in April."

No man more appreciated kindly expressions about his own work, and when I told him what I thought of the "Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft," he wrote, "That you, who pass so much of your life among things nobly beautiful, should be able to find some measure of success in my attempts to tell of the beauty I have seen and felt, cannot but gratify me. I should like to add that your estimate of my work, as a whole, seems to differ refreshingly from that which is more often brought under my notice. After having been told by all manner of authorities, year after year, that the note of my writing is its depressing monotony, and that variety of subjects and manner seem wholly beyond my reach, it is, I confess, very encouraging to hear from you a different opinion.

I suppose the fact of the matter is that very few reviewers have read more than one or two of my books. To those who, like yourself, keep a certain number of them in mind I am indeed grateful, all the more so, that I must needs wonder how you do it, amid the press of writing which calls for your attention."

On another occasion, he had casually come across some lines that I had written about his book "By the Ionian Sea," in which I referred to the tender sympathy which he had expressed for the people of the district, and his clear analysis of their characters, and he then wrote a letter, from which I must not quote, because it is so full of his own personal story. It came right at the end of his life, when the shadow of death was hanging over him, and the future was very uncertain, and when he said he had been "dodging the east wind, and struggling to gain the glory of sunshine," he wrote as one imbued with the very spirit of Greek tragedy, for in those last few months at St. Jean de Luz, bravely bearing up in the hope that the errors of his life were atoned for, he felt that a joy was entering into his career, to which he had for so long been a complete stranger. Alas, however, it was not to be so. The last letter I wrote him received no reply, and then word came that he had been called away. He had told me that at last he was able "to rest and think, and be happy," and that surely in another sphere

there would be "violets and birds with the fruits of the willow and the tender green grass," that would delight his eyes, and now that his sad life is over, and he has entered into his rest, one would hope that this strange, shy, fastidious man, this kindest of companions, and this most wonderful of conversationalists, has at last entered into a fuller appreciation of that for which he always longed, "rest, refreshment, joy."

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST ONE-MAN PICTURE SHOW IN LONDON

EXHIBITIONS by artists, consisting entirely of their own work, or exhibitions at art galleries of the pictures of one artist only, are nowadays of such frequent occurrence that it is curious to think there was a time when such shows were entirely unknown, and when it had not occurred to any artist that he should group together his own works in one room or in a series of rooms, and exhibit them to the public. It is also interesting to know that the origin of these exhibitions was the result of a quarrel, and one which made a great impression in its time in art circles. I am referring to a period as remote as 1775, and to the quarrel which took place between Nathaniel Hone, a sensitive and a passionate artist, and the Royal Academy, which had only so recently been founded, and of which he was one of the earliest members.

His own copy of the catalogue of his little exhibition is in my possession. It is a rare pamphlet, usually lacking the preface, in which Hone tells the whole story of the exhibition, and Smith, in his "Nollekens and his Times," speaking of it as a "work of the

THE
EXHIBITION
OF
PICTURES,
BY
Nathaniel Hone, R. A.
MOSTLY
The WORKS of his LEISURE,
And many of them
In his own POSSESSION.

Nisi utile est quod facimus, frustra est gloria.

PHÆDRUS.

M.DCC.LXXV.

greatest rarity," reprints it almost in *extenso*. I should preface the story, however, by stating that Hone was an envious, bad-tempered man, and particularly jealous of the success of Sir Joshua Reynolds. He believed that Sir Joshua was possessed of very few original ideas, and almost all his compositions were taken from the works of other artists, especially from the old masters; and, desiring to do the President as much harm as he possibly could, he painted a picture, which he called "The Pictorial Conjuror, displaying the whole Art of Optical Deception." The picture does not appear to be any longer in existence, and it is therefore impossible to say exactly what was its subject. Hone himself described it simply as the picture of a Conjuror. It is said to have represented an old man with a wand in his hand, commanding the various pictures of the Old Masters from which the President had plagiarised his compositions, to rise out of the flames. It has also been stated that it represented an old man with a child leaning on his knee, performing various incantations, by means of which these pictures of the Old Masters floated on the air about him. One of the floating figures in the picture was that of a nude woman, and it is stated that the likeness was a very distinct one to Angelica. The Academicians were very angry at the picture being sent in. They regarded it as an attack upon their President in very bad taste,

and they were also exceedingly annoyed at the representation of Angelica. In consequence, they rejected the picture, and refused to have it. It was at first actually hung in the exhibition, and then Sir William Chambers, and someone else on the Council of the Academy, came to Mr. Hone and informed him that it had been rumoured that he had made an indecent figure or caricature of a female artist, and according to Hone's own statement, "they were sorry such an indelicacy should be offered to the public," or words to that effect.

Here is Hone's statement concerning this part of the controversy :—

"Many false reports having been spread relating to a picture called 'The Conjuror,' painted by Mr. Hone, and offered to the Royal Academy for exhibition this season, he is advised by some very respectable friends to give a short state of facts to the public, which he hopes will clear his character from the malicious aspersions attempted to be fixed on him, as well as excuse him from the presumption of making an exhibition singly of his own works.

"After the picture in question had remained several days, and actually hung up in the Royal Academy exhibition, Sir William Chambers, with another gentleman of the council of the Academy, came to Mr. Hone at his house and informed him that it had been rumoured that he

had made an indecent figure or caricature of a eminent female artist, and that they should be sorry such an indelicacy should be offered to the public, or words to this purpose. Mr. Hone was greatly surprised at the accusation, and assured the gentlemen that he had always had the highest esteem for the lady alluded to, both on account her reputation as an artist, as well as for her other accomplishments; and that to remove the possibility of such a suspicion he would alter any figure she or they chose, the very next day or before the exhibition; and that he had not intended to represent any female figure in that picture, except the child leaning on the Conjuror's knee, and hoped they would do him the justice to remove any prejudice the lady might have received by the malicious or ignorant; and that he would himself wait upon the lady to that purpose. The next morning two more gentlemen of the council, with that other gentleman who had been the night before with Sir William, called upon Mr. Hone, who were all of them so obliging to do him the justice to say, that they had carefully looked at the figures, and would clear him of the supposition of there being any woman figure; that they were well assured then as before of his respect for the lady; nor did he trust to this alone, but went himself twice that day to wait on the fair artist, to convince her of the error; but was refused admittance. He thereupon sent a letter by his son, who delivered

it into her own hands, and whereof the following is an exact copy :—

“ ‘ Madam, The evening before last, I was not a little surprised at a deputation (as I take it) from the council of our Academy, acquainting me, that was most prodigiously displeased at my making a naked Academy figure in my picture of a conjuror, now at the Royal Academy, representing your person ; I immediately perceived that some busy medlar, to say no worse a name, had imposed this extravagant lie (of whose making God knows) upon your understanding. To convince you, Madam, your figure in that composition was the farthest from my thoughts, as I now declare. I never at any time saw your works, but with the greatest pleasure, and that respect due to a lady, whom I esteem as the first of her sex in painting and amongst the loveliest of women in person. Envy and detraction must have worked strangely ; for yesterday morning, some more gentlemen from the Academy assured me that your uneasiness was very great ; I assured them, I would so far alter the figure, that it would be impossible to suppose it to be a woman ; tho’ they cleared me of such a supposition themselves, as they understood it to be but a male figure ; and that I would put a beard to it, or even dress it to satisfy you and them. I did myself the honour of calling at your house twice yesterday (when I had the misfortune not to meet you at home), purposely to convince you,

how much you had been imposed upon, as you will perceive, when you see the picture yourself, and likewise to convince you how much you have been imposed upon, and with how much respect I am, Madam, your most obedient and most humble Servant.

“ ‘ *Nathaniel Hone.*

“ ‘ *Pall Mall,*

“ ‘ *19th April, 1775. To Mrs. Angelica Kauffman.’*

“ To which the day following the answer was returned :

“ ‘ *Sir,*

“ ‘ *I should have answered yours immediately, but I was engaged in business. I cannot conceive why several gentlemen who never before deceived me, should conspire to do so at this time, and if they themselves were deceived, you cannot wonder that others should be deceived also, and take for satyr which you say was not intended—I was actuated, not only by my particular feelings, but a respect for the arts and artists, and persuade myself you cannot think it a great sacrifice to remove a picture, that had even raised a suspicion of disrespect to any person who never wished to offend you.*

“ ‘ *I am, Sir, your humble servant,*

“ ‘ *Angelica Kauffman.*

“ ‘ *To Nathaniel Hone, Esq., Pall Mall.’ ”*

It is clear, from this letter, that Angelica considered that the portrait was intended to represent her, that she was annoyed at the work, and that she considered Hone ought to withdraw it; even though he had satisfied himself and one or two other persons that he had not intended to represent her in the painting at all. Hone, however, was not going to lose his chance of poking fun at the President, even though he himself stated that one of the figures did not represent Angelica. The opportunity of pointing out that in his opinion Reynold's compositions were most of them plagairisms, was not one to be lost, and he absolutely refused either to alter the picture, or to withdraw it, and took up the ground that, as an Academician, "honoured by His Majesty's sign manual, and whose character has been hitherto unimpeached by the breath of slander, during a residence in that capital of upwards of thirty years," the picture should be accepted by the Academy, and should continue to be hung in their exhibition. The Academicians were, however, not at all satisfied with Hone's action. They resented it, and on the Tuesday evening before the exhibition, they had a special meeting, with the result that, at nine o'clock that evening, a letter was sent to Hone in the following terms:—

“ ‘Sir, I am directed to acquaint you, that a

ballot having been taken by the council, whether your picture called "The Conjuror" should be admitted in the exhibition, it was determined in the negative.

" ' You are therefore desired to send for the picture as soon as it may be convenient.

" ' I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

" ' F. M. Newton, R.A., Secretary.

" ' Nath. Hone, Esq.,

" ' Exhibition Room, Pall Mall,

" ' Tuesday evening, 9 o'clock.' "

Evidently this was not the first time Hone had come into conflict with the Academy, for in 1770 he had painted a gentleman in masquerade, and he had introduced into the picture a cross, to which the Academicians objected. In accordance with their wishes, he altered the picture, and changed the cross into a punch ladle ; but, later on, he took out the punch ladle and replaced the cross, and in his own words " the cross is here restored, as at first intended, instead of a punch ladle, which was painted by order of the Council of the Academy for its admittance."

Hone then proceeded to take out an affidavit in the following terms to state that he did not introduce or intend to introduce, into his picture, any figure reflecting on Angelica, or on any lady whatever.

“ ‘ MIDDLESEX TO WIT. I, Nathaniel Hone of the Royal Academy do make oath, that in the picture of a conjuror, offered for exhibition to the said Academy for the present season, I never introduced, or intended to introduce any figure reflecting on Mrs. Angelica Kauffman, or any other lady whatever ; and I gave the most explicit declaration of this to Sir William Chambers, and three other gentlemen of the Academy, who called at my house for the purpose of examining into that circumstance ; and I at the same time told them the figure they pitched upon as giving offence, should be taken out.

NATH. HONE.

“ ‘ Sworn before me this 2nd day of May, 1775. *W. Addington. N.B. The figure said to have been intended for Mrs. A Kauffman is not only now taken out, but all the other naked figures, lest they should be said to be likenesses of any particular gentlemen or ladies, which Mr. Hone never meant, as the merit of the picture does not depend upon a few smoked academy figures, or even those well-dressed gentlemen who supply the place of those figures which were said to be so indecent, though Mr. Hone had shown the picture to ladies of the most refined taste and sentiment, at his own house.*’ ”

This did not, however, make matters any better. The Academy held to its decision,

and Hone had to remove the picture. He then took out the figure that was said to have been intended for Angelica, and also, he states, "all the other naked figures, lest they should be said to be likenesses of any particular gentlemen or ladies, which Mr. Hone never meant"; and the result of the controversy was that he took a room, which in Smith's time was a workshop, behind the house of Messrs. Mouchett and Wild, wine merchants, of 70, St Martin's Lane, next to the old Slaughter's Coffee House, and there he proceeded to have the first one-man show in London; exhibiting not only this picture of "The Conjuror," but some other works by himself, in justification for the position he had taken up. He called it "an exhibition of pictures by Nathaniel Hone, R.A., mostly works of his leisure, and many of them in his own possession."

The Academicians were very indignant with Hone over the whole transaction. Smith describes Hone's later visit to Nollekens, saying that he was a tall, upright, large man, with a broad-brimmed hat and a lapel coat, buttoned up to his stock, and that he walked up to Nollekens with measured and stately steps, and, folding his arms, saluted him with, "Joseph Nollekens, Esq., R.A., how do you do?" "Nollekens," says Smith, "who never liked him, answered, 'Well, now, I suppose you are come to get me to join you in the Academy

to-night, against Sir Joshua, but you are very much mistaken, and I can tell you more, I never will join you in anything you propose. You are always running your rigs against Sir Joshua, and you may say what you please, but I have never had any opinion of you, ever since you painted that picture of "The Conjuror," as you call it. I don't wonder they turned it out of the Academy ; and pray, what business had you to bring Angelica into it ? You know it was your intention to ridicule her, whatever your printed paper and your affidavits may say. However, you may depend upon it, *she* won't forget it, if Sir Joshua does.' " Hone appears to have expostulated with Nollekens, told him he was ill-tempered, and announced that he had brought him two prints, which he had recently purchased, as a present. Nollekens was not going to be bought over in this fashion, replying, " Well, I don't care, you don't bribe me in that way. I know what you are going to do to-night, and I will vote against you, so you may take your prints back again." Smith explains that Hone, whom he called the enamel painter, had lately commenced oil painting on a large scale, and in that branch of art he was not as successful as he had been with regard to his miniatures. It was then that he found that Reynolds was carrying away the chief patronage, and this made him so jealous that, Smith says, " he took every opportunity of endeavour-

ing to defame him," with the result that has just been stated. Whether the exhibition was a success, we cannot tell. Smith says the advertisement appeared in several of the public papers, that the pictures were to be seen every day, Sunday excepted, from ten in the morning until seven in the evening; that admission was one shilling, and the catalogues were given away gratis.

The whole thing was an extreme annoyance to Angelica, and it did Hone a good deal of harm. The picture of "The Conjuror," according to Miss Gerard, passed into the possession of a French nobleman, who in 1790 re-sold it for fifteen guineas to a dealer named Knight.

The exhibition, I may state, consisted of sixty-six pictures, the first three items being frames of enamels, containing in all thirty-nine portraits, but to these the artist added the following note: "Not one of the foregoing enamels have been painted within these fifteen years, as Mr. Hone gave up his leisure hours from that time to painting in oil." Following these three exhibits came a portrait of an old man in crayons, painted, he said, twenty-seven years ago, and a drawing of a young girl painted over twenty years ago, these two pictures being exhibited, he informs us, "in proof how little the colours have changed." Then, to show the rapidity of his execution, he exhibited a picture which he painted in 1760, in one day, and a drawing of a Chinese man

which he produced in one hour, and then a series of the pictures which he had exhibited at Spring Gardens in 1766, 1767, and 1768, and a series which he had exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1769 to 1774, arranged according to date. Following these came the entry about item seventeen already mentioned, "Two gentlemen in masquerade at the Royal Academy, 1770. The cross is here restored as at first intended, instead of a punch ladle, which was painted by the order of the Academy, for its admittance." One would imagine that in this picture, he had offended against the opinion of the Academy by introducing a religious emblem into his picture, and that he had been requested to make some alteration in order to render the work suitable for exhibition. He took, however, the earliest opportunity of restoring the picture to what he had at first intended it should be, with a view of showing the Academy that he did not care in any way for its criticism, while, in order to make the matter more evident still, he exhibited with the picture what he termed a metzotinto print of the same.

Following the pictures which had been exhibited at the Academy came a series of sketches and studies, and then six pictures which he intended to have been exhibited in the Royal Academy this year, and were actually hung in the gallery, amongst them being the one called "The Conjuror," which he says, in the catalogue,

was "refused by the Council of the Royal Academy, though Mr. Hone had agreed to make some alteration in the picture." The last few items in the exhibition were drawings and works in enamel, amongst these being a moth, a butterfly, a locust, a shell, and a Chinese figure.

A special point in the catalogue which greatly interested me, was item No. 54, which read as follows:—" 'Saint Pavarius,' the head finished at one painting from the same man who sat for 'The Conjuror.' This poor but honest fellow was formerly a pavior, for which reason he is thus named, as have heretofore been St. Veronica, St. Christopher, etc., from some particular action." The interest of this entry lies in its connection with George Engleheart the miniature painter, and with Sir Joshua Reynolds. Engleheart copied a portrait painted by his master Reynolds, which in his manuscript notebook he called "Pope Pavarius," and in his list of miniatures, "Pope Pavarion." It was not known who this person represented, nor could the name be explained by the Engleheart family, who still own this copy of Reynolds' work made by their ancestor. In writing the life of Engleheart, I ventured on a conjecture that the portrait probably represented George White the pavior, an Irishman, "once a pavior, then a beggar," as Tom Taylor says, whom Sir Joshua had as a professional model, and a portrait of whom, as captain of the Gang of Robbers, by

Reynolds, painted in 1772, appears at Crewe Hall.* This portrait, with its grimy haggard features, resembled the miniature by Engleheart, which he styled "Pope Pavarius," and which he said was a copy of a work by Reynolds. It is clear that the conjecture is reduced to definite fact by the entry in Hone's catalogue, and that Pope Pavarius, Pope Pavarino, St. Pavarius, and George White the pavior are one and the same person, and that these various names were given to him by the artists who employed him, and who poked fun at the work of his earlier days.

Unfortunately, neither the original picture of George White, by Hone, nor the one painted by Reynolds and copied by Engleheart, have not yet been discovered.

We do not know whether the controversy between Hone and the Academy was made up, but it evidently was adjusted in some way, for Hone exhibited in the following year, and continued to do so down to the time of his death, which occurred in Rathbone Place, August 14, 1784, when he was sixty-seven years old. He was buried at Hendon, where he possessed a small estate.

*Another portrait of him belongs to the Earl of Durham.

CHAPTER IV

SOME NEW INFORMATION RESPECTING JEAN PETITOT

THE influence which has been exercised in the world of literature and art, by persons who belonged to the French Reformed Protestant religion, and who were known as Huguenots has been a source of justifiable pride to their descendants and co-religionists, and this influence has been the subject of marked attention in Geneva, the city where many of them took refuge. The Huguenots are able to point with considerable satisfaction to such men as Jean Cousin the painter, Jean Goujon the sculptor, the architect Salomon de Brosse, the enameller Limousin, the potter Palissy, the ebeniste Boulle, and the tapestry worker Gobelin, as well as to the subjects of those few notes, the two celebrated workers in enamel, Bordier and Petitot.

The Historical Society of French Protestantism has for the past forty years given considerable attention to the publication of contemporary information with regard to such important persons, and it has more than once arranged for an exhibition of documents and art treasures, in the same interest. It has quickened the ener-

gies of a devoted body of Swiss writers, who were eager to gather up all that could be known respecting the heroes of their faith, and who, from time to time, prepared volumes, not only on those whose names have already been mentioned, but on such important residents in Geneva as Theodore Beza, Goudimel the musician, Calvin, and Zwingli.

One of the latest of these workers was M. Ernest Stroehlin, who gathered together some new information on Petitot,* which may perhaps be of interest to English readers. He was permitted to examine the precious little book which Petitot left behind him for the benefit of his family, and which was drawn out entirely by his own hand. It is an octavo volume, bound in parchment and covered in velvet, containing 166 leaves, and was prepared in 1674, in order that the artist might inform his family of such facts in his own history as he thought worthy of their remembrance. The greater part of it is filled up with prayers and meditations, and the little journal bears the title, "*Prières et Méditations chrétiennes pour la famille, en temps de santé, de maladie, et de mort,*" but the book contains, besides these prayers and meditations, a great deal of genealogical information regarding the Petitot family, and two delightful portraits, one of Petitot himself and one of his wife, drawn in Indian ink. It passed after the

* Petitot et Bordier, Geneve, 1905.

death of the artist to one of his daughters, Marie, who married, in 1693, a certain Jean Bazin, and went to live at Rotterdam, and from her it has come down, always in the female line, to her descendants, through several families, and in several places, the little book having been at Amsterdam, the Hague, Montpellier, Brest, and Bordeaux. It now is said to belong to a certain Madame Roqueplane, the widow of Vice-Admiral Prouhet. The volume was written in 1674, eleven years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It was not, however, the only manuscript book which Petitot left behind him, for he wrote a second volume of "prayers and meditations during prosperity and under adversity," in 1682, for the use of his family. This is a quarto book, bound like the other, but the details of its history are not so clearly known. It belongs now to Monsieur Chatoney, who bought it at the sale of the library of Baron Jérôme Pichom. It does not, however, contain the genealogical information which gives the special value to the smaller volume.

The portrait of Petitot himself in the little book shows us a man in an ample wig, having a white linen collar with two tassels about his neck, and wearing a dark-coloured cloak similar to those adopted by the clergy of the Huguenot Church. His expression is serious and meditative, the eyes clear and full of life, the mouth small,

with very expressive lips, and the portrait bears a striking resemblance to three other portraits of the artist, all in enamel, one on the cover of a gold snuff-box that belonged to M. Stroehlin, signed, "P.F.," another, signed by Petitot himself in full, belonging to the Countess of Dartrey, and a third in the possession of the Queen of Holland. It also enables us to decide that the portrait attributed to Mignard, belonging to the museum at Geneva, which represents a man of about thirty-five, in a large black wig, wearing a rich lace cravat and a silk broche cloak, and marked "Jean Petitot," is not a portrait of the father, with whom at this moment I am dealing, but of his son, who bore the same name. The portrait of Madame Petitot, which appears opposite to that of her husband, is a half-length, representing her dressed in a silk costume, the neck and throat bare, the hair brown and curly. She has a calm, dignified appearance, and the little volume is dedicated to her in the following words: "Je vous fay présent, ma chère femme, de ce petit recueil de prières et de méditations, que j'ay faict pour le laisser à notre famille, affin qu'il luy soit une aide pour les porter à la piété."

The Petitots came originally from Burgundy, and were one of those artistic families which fled from France to Geneva. In similar fashion, the Bordiers came from Orléans, the Arlands from the Auvergne, the Huaulds from

Poitou, the Thourons from Rouergue, and the Gardelles from Languedoc. Petitot's grandfather was a medical man, whose christian name was Guyon. He had an only son, who had the curious name of Faulle, which name, by the way, has frequently been rendered in books of reference as Paul or Saul, but it was neither, and is written most clearly in Petitot's manuscript as Faulle. He was a wood-carver, and, in addition to the ordinary work carried out in such an occupation, was clever in making wooden models of buildings. His father fled from France on account of religious difficulties, and the son settled down to steady occupation in Geneva, and married there in 1598 one Etiennette Royaume, by whom he had five children, four sons and a daughter, the eldest son Pierre (1600-1668), becoming a doctor of medicine, the second, Joseph (1602-1665), a sculptor, the third, Isaac (born 1604), also a sculptor, the fourth, Jean, an enameller, and the fifth, Marie (1610-1677), was the daughter, whose second husband was one Pierre Prieur, a goldsmith, of whom up to the present time remarkably little has been known. Petitot speaks very highly of his grandfather's character, and says he was "un exemple de piété de zéle (*sic*), et de charité." He died in 1628.

Jean Petitot was born on the 12th of July, 1607, and baptised on the 26th of the same month in the evening, in the chapel of St. Ger-

vais, by the pastor, Grenet. He was apprenticed, he tells us, by his father, to a jeweller-goldsmith, of the name of Pierre Bordier, who was very little older than himself, but so clever in his work as to have attained a considerable position in Geneva. As I have already mentioned, the Bordiers came from Orléans as emigrants in 1554, and their descendants still live in that place. They appear to have been weavers and tapestry workers, and people of considerable skill, but one of them, Augustin, took up the profession of a goldsmith, and it was his grandson, Pierre, who became close friends with Petitot. The two young men, both apparently taught enamelling by one Jean Royaume, were not, however, satisfied with the progress they made in Geneva, and determined to do better. They therefore left Switzerland, and entered France, and, after working for a while with Jean Toutin the King's jeweller and enameller, came over to England, where they were provided with letters of introduction to the physician to Charles the First, Turquet de Mayerne. This celebrated man had crossed the Channel to become a royal physician, and was an accomplished scientist, and very eager worker in chemistry, interesting himself especially in enamel work, and in endeavouring to copy the work of the old enamellers of Limoges. He took great interest in the two young men, who presented themselves to him, and appears to have intro-

duced them to the King, made them free of his own workshop, and placed at their disposal various discoveries he had made. They represented to him the faith of some of his own near relatives, and a country with which he was himself closely connected, and by every means in his power he appears to have assisted them. The first work which was entrusted to them by Charles the First was the preparation of a St. George intended to ornament the badge of the Order of the Garter, but they speedily became known for their portraits, and it was at this time, in 1642, that Petitot prepared his great portrait of the Countess of Southampton, who was born Rachel de Ruvigny, and belonged to an important Huguenot family, the enamel now at Chatsworth, which Walpole calls "the most capital enamel in the world." It is a copy of a portrait by Vandyck, and is signed by Petitot. It was at this time also that the artist executed the fine signed enamel portrait of Mary Villiers, Duchess of Richmond and Lenox, dated 1643, which was at one time in the possession of the Crown, and is now in the Pierpont Morgan collection, as well as portraits of the Duke of Buckingham, Charles and his Queen, Lady Morton, the governess to the Royal children; Mrs. Middleton, the Countess of Bedford, Lady Cadogan, the Duke of York, and other persons of eminence in this country, whose portraits are to be found in various collections.

Petitot appears to have attached himself very decidedly to Charles the First and his family; and immediately after the execution of the King he left England for Paris, in company with several members of the Royal Household, who had to flee from the country. His friend Bordier, however, remained in London, his sympathies at that time being much more with Cromwell and the Parliamentary party, and the result was that he received certain commissions from Cromwell, and his supporters, especially the order for the Naseby enamel, which was certainly his greatest work. It is probable that the enamel portraits of Milton and Cromwell in the possession of Lord Chesham are the work of Pierre Bordier, rather than that of Petitot, to whom they are generally attributed, but the Naseby jewel was, so we are told by Walpole, the work of Bordier, and is certainly signed "P.B. fecit." This beautiful enamel was presented to Sir Thomas Fairfax by the Parliament, after the battle of Naseby, in November, 1645. With the diamond sides, which are not now in existence, it cost £700. After the death of Fairfax it was sold to John Thoresby, and in 1764 bought by Horace Walpole for ten guineas. At the Strawberry Hill sale it was sold for £21, to John P. Beavan, and, later on, belonged to Lord Hastings, who exhibited it at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1889. It bears on one side a portrait of Lord Fairfax mounted

on a chestnut horse, after a picture by Vandyck, and on the other a representation of the battle of Naseby. M. Clouzot in some recent articles on Enamels offers some arguments against this ascription. He believes the enamel was executed by some other artist whose initials were P. B., but he cannot suggest any person, and Walpole's statement must at present be considered to hold the field. Pierre Bordier probably died in England soon after 1649, as we hear nothing of him from that time.

When Petitot reached Paris, he found there a cousin of his friend, Pierre Bordier, one Jacques Bordier, a goldsmith, who had enthusiastically taken up the work of an enameller. He also had been over to England, only remaining there a short time, and then had come to France, and the two men appear to have speedily become close friends, and to have united in partnership. Their work attracted much attention in Paris, and they became the most famous painters in enamel in the city, were given apartments in the Louvre, and employed by Louis the Fourteenth, and all the important persons about his court. The friendship between the two men, both of whom had been deeply attached to the Stuart family, lasted for thirty-five years, and was only put an end to by the death of Jacques Bordier. Petitot thus wrote of it in his journal: "De plus, comme une chose non attendue en mon âge, tu m'as encore extraor-

dinairement favorisé, O mon Dieu, en me continuant les moyens d'exercer mon art avec quelque facilité en la compagnie de la personne, liée avec moi d'amitié et d'association, dès environ un demisiècle, sans avoir aucune mésintelligence ni division entre nous."

In an important work by Richelet, published in 1680, Bordier and Petitot are spoken of as being the two greatest painters in enamel in Paris, the most popular portrait-painters of the day, overwhelmed with work and busied in the preparation of the tiny enamel portraits so popular at that time, either as locketts or as ornaments set in the covers of snuff-boxes, étuis, or instrument cases. Their personal character was declared to be of the highest possible merit, and the two artists appear to have been treated with a greater amount of respect than was customarily given to men of their profession. All the greatest personages of that brilliant Court sat to them, although as regards the portraits usually attributed to Petitot alone, it seems to be probable, from the artist's own papers and from this manuscript journal to which we make constant reference, that his partner Bordier was quite as intimately concerned as himself in their preparation. It would appear that the actual drawing of the portrait was generally the work of Petitot, but that the exquisite enamelling process was largely superintended by Bordier, and his skill alone rendered it possible for the

minute work of his colleague and friend to be perpetuated in this wonderful form.

The King himself was represented over and over again, his mother, Anne of Austria, and his wife, Maria Theresa, their son the Dauphin, and his wife, and their grandsons, the Duke of Anjou and the Duke of Berry, his brother the Duc d'Orléans, his nephew, the future Regent, his uncle Gaston d'Orléans, and his cousin the Duchesse de Montpensier—La Grande Mademoiselle; Charles the First and Queen Henrietta Maria, Charles the Second, the Duchess of Portsmouth, James the Second and his sister Mary, Princess of Orange, Christina Queen of Sweden, the Duchess of Lorraine and her brother the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, the Grand Condé and his wife, the Prince de Conti, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, the Duchesse de Longueville and the Duchesse de Montbazou, the various nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, Olympia, Marie, and Hortense Mancini, Madame de la Vallière, Madame de Montespan, Mlle. de Fontanges, Madame de Maintenon, Madame de Sévigné, and almost every beautiful lady or important man connected with the Court of France, or visiting Le Grand Monarque. -

Petitot married in 1651. His wife was Marguerite Cuper, daughter of Sulpice Cuper, one of the King's councillors, at that time governor of Bordeaux, and the register of his marriage has

recently been found. It took place at Charenton, on the 23rd day of November, 1651, in a building which was devoted to the religious services of the Protestants, and the officiating pastor was Monsieur Drèlincourt. Bordier was already married, as, on the 27th of August in the same year, he had espoused Anne Madeleine Cuper, the younger sister of Marguerite, so that the two friends had now become brothers-in-law. Later on, the connection between the two families was to become still closer, as eventually Petitot's son Jean married Madeleine Bordier, the daughter of his father's partner.

Some previous writers on Petitot had stated that he was twice married, but the researches of M. Stroehlin amongst the Petitot papers proved that this was not the case, and the confusion had arisen from the fact of Petitot's son marrying his mother's niece.

Jean Petitot had seventeen children, and he most carefully records the information respecting them in his journal. His eldest son Jean was born at Blois in 1653. In 1654 a second son was born at Paris, named Jacques, in 1655 a daughter arrived, called Marie, and in the same year Madame Petitot was confined of a still-born child. In 1657 came the second daughter, Madeleine, in 1658 the third, Marguerite, in 1659 the fourth, Marie, in 1661 the fifth, Anne, in 1662 the fourth son, to whom the Ambassador for Holland stood godfather, named Paul, in

1663 a fifth son, Francois, in 1664 a sixth daughter, Caterine, in 1665 a sixth son, André, in 1668 a seventh daughter, Charlotte, in 1669 a seventh son, Sulpice Henry, in 1670 an eighth son, Benjamin, in 1673 a ninth son, Estienne, in 1674 an eighth daughter, Madeleine Caterine.

The records in the journal particularly mention the names of the godparents in the case of each child.

In 1669, Petitot and Bordier were able to render their own country certain special and important political services, which were so highly esteemed by the Republic that the Syndics of Geneva created the two artists free citizens of Geneva with all the rights and privileges appertaining to such a position, and a joint letter from the two friends, dated the 11th of January, 1669, was sent to the council, expressing the sincere gratitude which Petitot and Bordier felt for this mark of esteem on the part of their native town. The letter, which is addressed, "Aux Magnifiques et très honorés Seigneurs, Messieurs Les Syndics du Conseil de Genève," was given for the first time by M. Strochlin in his volume and followed by a long series of letters which passed between Paris and Geneva, mostly the work of Jacques Bordier. He appears to have been not only the active and practical partner in the enamelling business, but to have developed a remarkable capacity for diplomacy, and was

eventually created the official agent at Versailles for the Republic of Geneva, a position which he held till the time of his death. He threw immense zeal into this public work, exercising himself with great energy to do all he possibly could for his native State, and was charged with some delicate negotiations between France and Geneva, which he appears to have carried through with great success. To such an extent was he trusted, that he became on intimate terms with the Ambassadors from the Protestant countries, Great Britain, Holland, Brandenburg, and Prussia, and he appears to have been regarded as the special protector of the Genevan Republic, and as one with whom consultations could be made with absolute discretion, inasmuch as he was a man of the most perfect integrity, and held the complete confidence of the Syndics of Geneva.

He was present at the marriage of his daughter with his nephew Jean Petitot, who was following his father's profession. This marriage, like the two preceding ones, was celebrated in the Huguenot "temple" at Charenton. It took place in 1683, and was one of the last marriages in that building. Jacques Bordier died at Blois, in a house which he had inherited from his father-in-law, Sulpice Cuper, in the following year, just one year before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and was therefore spared the grief of seeing the downfall of the diplomatic

union he had worked so hard to build up. The Council of Geneva recognised his long services by special resolutions and addressed letters to his partner Petitot and to his son, expressive of their gratitude to him for all he had done. He was succeeded in his office as official agent of the Republic by his son-in-law, Jean Petitot.

He had a large family, but eight members of it died in their youth.

Uninterrupted success had attended the partnership carried on by the two Genevan enamellers, and they were able to accumulate sufficient means to live in comfort, and to keep up country houses at some distances from Paris. The story, however, that was started by Senebier when he wrote about Petitot, and continued by Rigaud, to the effect that they amassed a colossal fortune, has no foundation in fact. It seems to be clear that many of their finest works were never paid for, and that the expenses of production with regard to the beautiful objects for which they were famous were exceedingly high. They were, however, both of them economical men, working very hard at their profession, and their success was undoubted. They had not suffered any disabilities on account of their religion so far as can be ascertained, until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which took place on the 17th of October, 1685, but from that time disaster overtook the Huguenots of France, and almost every

member of that faith, whatever his position or influence, suffered on account of his religion. The storm raged about the head of Petitot for some months, and at length pressure was brought to bear upon him that he should change his religion. The King protected him as long as it was in his power to do so, but eventually the skill and the popularity of the old artist counted for nothing in his favour, and he was arrested as a heretic with his niece, Anne Bordier, in 1686, and they were both confined in the prison of Fort L'Evêque. By the instructions of the King, the great Bishop of Meaux, Jacques Bossuet, was sent to visit Petitot in prison, and he pressed him very hard indeed, with all the skill of which he was capable, endeavouring to convince the old man of the error of his ways. For a long time Petitot would have nothing whatever to say to him, but presently his health gave way, his strength had been undermined by his captivity, and he had been transferred from one prison to another more rigorous, when at last, in poor health and in great despair of mind, he consented to place his signature to an act of abjuration. The magistrates of Geneva had been making every effort on his behalf, and it is clear that the King himself was extremely anxious to seize some means by which Petitot could be released. The act by which the artist acknowledged his conversion afforded the King the opportunity which he sought, but Louis the

Fourteenth, unwilling to acknowledge the true reason for the imprisonment of Petitot and his liberation, informed one of his sons, who came to thank him for the pardon given to his father, that he was quite willing to fall in, for once, with "the whim of an old man who desired to be buried with his ancestors." Accordingly, at the beginning of the year 1687, Petitot, in company with a part of his family, left Paris, where he had been living for thirty-seven years, and, after passing through serious perils, reached Geneva in safety.

At first he was not received with acclamation, and was looked upon as a man who had abjured his faith as a result of the persecution. The Consistory of the Church of Geneva took steps to investigate the matter, and being informed of all the circumstances, and understanding that Petitot's conversion was now the subject of a sincere and touching repentance on his part, absolved the old artist from the crime of which they considered he had been guilty, and received him back again into their communion. He made a solemn statement before them, that what they considered his apostasy was the result of the persecution he had undergone and the serious condition of his health, both of body and mind, in consequence; and then his reception back to the Huguenot communion was undertaken by the pastor of the parish church of St. Gervais. His confinement, and the anguish

he had gone through, had, however, made serious inroads upon his health, and it was some months before the old man was himself again. The climate of his native country, the kind reception given to him by most of his friends, and the manner in which his change of faith had been set aside, soon conspired to put him into better spirits; and, despite the fact that a great many in Geneva, including some of his oldest friends, declined to have anything to do with him, he soon recovered his customary high spirits, and speedily set to work at his old profession. He had lost the larger portion of his fortune on leaving Paris, but had brought with him all the appliances for his enamel work, and he was just as skilful as ever. One of the first commissions he received was from John Sobieski, King of Poland, who had defeated the Turks before the gates of Vienna. He desired to possess a portrait of himself and his Queen in enamel, and the aged artist acquitted himself of the task brilliantly, and sent a plaque, in which he had ingeniously combined the two portraits, to the King of Poland. In the picture the Queen was represented seated upon a trophy of arms, holding in her right hand a portrait of her successful husband, and the miniature was as brilliant in colour and as exquisite in execution as any work which Petitot had produced during the days of his youth. Another labour which engaged his attention was the

reproduction of a celebrated picture by Lebrun, "The Family of Darius at the Feet of Alexander," but this very large enamel he was never able to complete. It is still to be seen in Geneva at the museum, but should have been fired once or twice more to have attained to the utmost perfection of its beauty. Very quickly Petitot's work began to be known in the neighbourhood of Geneva, and numbers of well-to-do persons sojourning in that city went to see the illustrious artist, and commissioned their portraits at his hands. His means rapidly increased, and he was full of energy, when, on the 3rd of April, 1691, he was seized with an attack of paralysis, while in the very act of painting on the enamel a portrait of his faithful and devoted wife. At seven o'clock in the evening he died, and his son Paul thus records the sad event in the same little journal to which we have already referred :—

"Puisque notre père a mis, dans le commencement de ce livre, une partie de ce qui lui est arrivé, il est juste que nous y ajoutions ses derniers moments lesquels n'ont pas été moins pieux et saints que pendant sa vie, puisqu'il n'a jamais eu autre chose dans sa pensée, jusqu'au dernier moment de sa vie, que de donner gloire à Dieu et d'embrasser son Sauveur, et qu'il a eu pour dernière parole : 'Viens, Seigneur Jésus, viens bientôt !' Après quoi le bon Seigneur reçut son esprit, lequel il rendit, après quelques

heures d'agonie, le jeudi 3 avril 1691, à 7 heures du soir, et a été mis le samedi 5, à 9 heures du matin, dans la tombe de Mme. de Blonay, dans l'église de Saint-Martin, à Vevey. Il avait quatre-vingt et quatre ans, quand il est mort, et travaillait le mardi de la semaine, dans laquelle il décéda le jeudi, au portrait de notre mère, qui est ce qu'il a toujours demandé à Dieu, de pouvoir travailler jusqu'à son dernier jour, ce qui lui été accordé, puisqu'il n'a été qu'un jour malade."

Nothing need be added to a record so simple and so affecting.

Many persons have copied the work of Petitot, but he has never had any real rival save in the person of his own son ; and some of the works of Jean Petitot the younger so closely resemble those of his father, that it is impossible to distinguish between them. The family genius in this respect appears to have died out with the death of the son, although the trade of a jeweller was carried on by other members of the same family. The little manuscript journal which has been made available for the purpose of this new information, contains many other records relating to the family than those which have been quoted, but they refer to the descendants of Petitot's daughter Marie, who married a certain Jean Bazin. The writing of Petitot himself ends with the note in 1674, of the birth of his youngest child. A series

of entries were then made by his son-in-law, continued after his death by his widow, and added to by other members of the family, the last entry bearing date 24th of July, 1840, and recording the marriage of the lady who is the present owner of the book. In addition to the genealogical information contained in the journal, there are five drawings by Petitot in it made in Indian ink, representing the Birth of Christ, the Crucifixion, the Entombment, the Ascension, and a death's head, and to each of them are appended explanatory texts. The remainder of the book is occupied by a very long religious exhortation addressed by Petitot to his family, and by a series of shorter exhortations, prayers, meditations, and passages from Holy Scripture. Some of the prayers are taken from the works of Du Moulin, others were written for Petitot by Monsieur Turtin, a pastor of Geneva, and others again were composed by the artist himself. His hand-writing was exceedingly clear and legible. With the exception of the additional entries made by his descendants, all the rest of the journal is in Petitot's own hand, and he was himself responsible not only for the two portraits it contains, but for the title-page and five illustrations. The whole volume affords a pleasing record of a great artist, and lovers of the work of Petitot will be grateful to the Historical Society of the French Protestant Church for having undertaken to print a great

portion of the journal, and to the late M. Stroehlin for his volume on Petitot and Bordier, and the investigations which have enabled him to give so much definite information respecting the story of the two men.

The exquisite enamels of Petitot are well known to all collectors. They should perhaps now be called works by Petitot and Bordier, as it is perfectly clear that each partner was concerned in their execution. There is an interesting collection of them in the Louvre, numbering over forty genuine examples, and about a dozen which may or may not be from the same atelier, and some of which no doubt belong to the younger Petitot. At Chantilly there are seventeen, including four portraits of Louis the Fourteenth, representation of various members of the Condé family, two fine portraits of Madame de Montespan, and one of her sister, the Abbess of Fontevrault, and a portrait of Ninon de L'Enclos; but the largest collection in existence is to be found in the Jones section at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Here there are no less than fifty-eight examples, including some of the most beautiful works Petitot and Bordier ever executed. At Windsor there are seventeen, and others are to be found in most of the great collections of miniatures. The Baroness Burdett-Coutts possessed several, including delightful portraits of Charles the Second and James the Second, the latter of which was a present

from the then Duke of York to Mrs. Godfrey. The Earl of Berkeley, Lord Wemyss, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Chesham, Lord Cadogan, Earl Beauchamp, and the Duke of Rutland, are amongst those who possess fine examples of these precious enamels, but the best private collection is in the possession of the Countess of Dartrey, and it includes a portrait of the elder Petitot, signed "Petitot le Vieux par luy-même," one of the younger Petitot signed, "Petitot fait par luy-même, d'âge de 33 ans, 1685," and two portraits of the wife of Jean Petitot the younger, on one of which is the inscription, "Petitot a fait à Paris janvier 1650 ce portrait qui est celui de sa femme."

Lady Dartrey also possesses portraits of Madame de Sévigné, James the Second, the Duc d'Orleans, the Countess of Bedford, the Duke of York, Madame de Montbazon, the Princesse de Bernouville, and of several persons whose names are not known, including a very beautiful one of an ecclesiastic. In the possession of the Queen of Holland is the second portrait of Petitot the elder, signed and dated 1650, and portraits of the Princess of Orange, of William the Third, of Louis the Fourteenth, and of Madame de Maintenon, while M. Ernest Stroehlin, in his collection in Geneva, had the third portrait of the old artist, and half a dozen other fine examples of work of Petitot and Bordier. One of the most superb enamels the partners ever

executed belongs to the Countess of Carnarvon. It is a gold snuff-box, and bears on the top, on the bottom, and on each side, a series of beautiful portraits of the celebrated ladies of the French Court. There were very many works by Petitot-Bordier in the Hermitage collection at Petrograd, and others were to be found in Berlin, Vienna, Dresden, and Budapest.

Until within recent times the work of Petitot has only been known in enamel, but three important drawings on paper have been discovered, and all three are in the famous Pierpont Morgan collection. The largest represents the Comtesse de Feuquières, the friend of Mignard, and of Madame de Sévigné, and is inscribed in ink on the reverse, "donné par M. Petitot à madame La Comtesse de Feuquiers [*sic*] en 1673." This is in the same handwriting as appears in the manuscript book, and is therefore evidently that of the artist himself. The other two drawings are even more interesting. They represent Anne of Austria and Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, and are signed by initials, in a monogram, which appears to be J. P. It is suggested that these are the original drawings for two enamel portraits of these persons which appear in the collection at the Louvre. That of the Duc d'Orléans exactly resembles the enamel which happens to be the only portrait of the Duc, by Petitot, known to exist. The other, of Anne of Austria, is almost exactly

like the enamel, but in the drawing the Queen has a crown on her head, which is represented as slipping off backwards, and which does not appear in the finished enamel. A French critic has suggested that this drawing is the work of Pierre de Jodé, who engraved a portrait after Nocret of Anne of Austria, but as the two drawings are identical in size, colouring and technique, and as the one of them exactly and the other very closely resembles the finished enamel save in the omission of the crown (which did not add to the charm of the portrait and the omission of which distinctly improved the enamel), I was disposed to accept them both as the preparatory sketches by Petitot for his enamel portraits; and these two and the one just mentioned constitute the only three drawings at present known to exist. In the Pierpont Morgan collection is one other remarkable drawing, which has been attributed to Samuel Cooper. It exactly resembles Petitot's famous signed miniature of Mary—Duchess of Richmond and Lenox, already referred to, which is, by the way, the largest work of that artist save the one at Chatsworth, and is one of the chief treasures of the collection. The drawing very closely resemblances a similar one at Welbeck, and each of them is almost an exact copy of the picture by Vandyck at Windsor Castle, save that they omit the attributes of St. Agnes, the lamb and the palm branch. It

would seem possible that Cooper made a water-colour drawing from the Vandyck, in order that Petitot might make his enamel, or it is possible that Petitot also made a copy of the Vandyck. The two drawings, the one at Welbeck, and the one in the Morgan collection, are not absolutely identical. The colouring of the latter one is richer and bolder than that of the one at Welbeck, and it differs in some minute points from the original Vandyck. It is absolutely identical, however, with the finished enamel, and I am inclined to suggest that the one at Welbeck is the work of Cooper, and the other the work of Petitot or of Bordier, but this suggestion is made tentatively, as perchance some further information may come to light which will assist in determining the attribution.

A few words may perhaps be added respecting Paul Prieur, who was referred to at the beginning of this article. In 1669 he was in England painting a miniature of Charles the Second, and another of Lady Castlemaine, both after Cooper, and executed for the King of Denmark, for whom he had been working for some time. In 1670 we hear of him in Poland painting a portrait of King Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki for the Danish monarch, and then in 1671 he was back again in Denmark executing some remarkable commissions for portraits of the elder children of Frederick the Third, which can now be seen in the Rosenborg Castle collec-

tion. By Christian the Fifth he was sent to execute other commissions, is believed to have visited Spain, and thence to have journeyed to Russia, where several examples of his work, all dated 1676, were to be seen in the Hermitage. In the following year he was back again in Denmark, where he died. He is said also to have been a member of the Huguenot persuasion, and to have possessed secrets for the composition of certain brilliant colours in enamel work (especially for a blue) which were not known to his competitors. His work in this country is of great rarity, Lady Dartrey possessing the finest example, but there are two remarkable enamels by him in the Pierpont Morgan collection. There is also one of his enamels at Windsor Castle, and Dr. Propert had two, while several of his beautiful enamel badges for the Order of the Elephant belong to the King of Denmark.

CHAPTER V

HOW A BOOK WAS LOST AND FOUND

IN front of me lies a tiny service book, entitled "Diurnale Cartusiense," a fat little volume of 526 pages, with a supplement added of 114 more. It was printed in 1879. It was given to me in 1894, and recalls a curious and interesting story.

The monks of the Carthusian Order were among the earliest to welcome and use the new art of printing, and they constitute the only Order in the Catholic Church which has remained a printer to this very day, for the monks still produce, in their own monastic printing-press, all the service books for their own use, and from that press have been issued some of the finest of modern liturgical books.

The story of Carthusian printing begins in 1606, when the Prior of one of the houses in Picardy printed four large Responsoria, each in four volumes, from type which he had himself made by melting down old vessels and candlesticks of copper. In 1612 he left the religious house in Picardy and went to Pavia, there to assist in printing liturgical books for the same Order, carrying with him his home-made type. He was commissioned by the Father General

of the Carthusians to print service books for the night office, in sufficient numbers for the use of all the monasteries of the Order, and the great book he produced continued in use for over two hundred and fifty years, and was not entirely reprinted until 1876, when a new edition of it was required. It can easily be imagined that although the books were great folio volumes, and printed on very substantial paper, and carefully handled, and only needed in the churches connected with Carthusian monastries, the constant use for two hundred and fifty years produced the invariable result, and the volumes were more or less injured, torn and defaced. Fortunately, the monks knew their office, and by dint of saying it continually, the words became so familiar to them that upon many occasions they did not use the books at all, and to this familiarity must be accredited the fact that so many of the old volumes remained in existence when the order came to reprint. The Vatican decided in 1870, that certain slight changes were to be made in the service books, and that it was time a new edition was prepared, and then the question arose as to finding a perfect copy of the old book of 1612 from which the new one should be produced. As might be expected none of the monasteries possessed a perfect copy. Some of them were more or less complete. Many had manuscript additions made to them. Of some, half a

page here and there was missing, or there was wanting to many pages the corner or a large portion of the page. Frequently the Fathers had used other books to supplement the great folio, where pages or portions of pages were deficient, and despite the most careful investigation, Dom Eusèbe Bergier, who travelled round from monastery to monastery, was quite unable to obtain a perfect copy, and small wonder, considering that the book had lasted for such a long period. Then another monk Father Charles Marie, was entrusted with the duty of going to *all* the Carthusian Houses in Europe, examining every copy they possessed of the edition of 1612, extracting perfect leaves from the different volumes, and making up, if possible, a complete set from the imperfect volumes which still remained. This task took a long time to accomplish, but it was done at last, and one perfect folio volume of the service book of 1612 was made up, and brought to the Chartreuse at Montreuil, Nôtre Dame des Prés, where at that time the printing works were established, and from this one perfect copy the new edition of 1876 was produced.

When I was working at an essay on the books of the Carthusians I came upon the information concerning this precious volume. I had seen many fragments of the old folios both at the Carthusian Monastery in France at which I was then working, and at the others which I had

visited in France, Italy and elsewhere, but no trace could I ever find of the one perfect copy which, however, it was quite certain must have existed not twenty years before I was writing my essay, and therefore was hardly likely to have perished. When it is remembered that these books were elephant folio, monstrous great volumes, it will be the more easily understood that the destruction of such a huge book was not easy, and I made up my mind, not only that it must exist, but that in all probability it existed in the very house where I was, because it was there that the edition of the later book had been printed. I set to work to search, but I could find no trace of it in the library. I then had special permission to go round to the various Fathers in their cells and talk to them about it, and one old Father, of considerably advanced age, asked me whether I had searched in an underground paper store which still existed beneath the library? Some of the younger Fathers doubted the actual existence of this paper store, they had never heard of it, and never seen it, and for a while I could not find out where it was, but eventually the Prior of the Monastery, taking the trouble to look through certain keys, discovered that one of them bore a label relating to a paper store, and a door which had not been opened for some twenty years was, at my request, unlocked, and I entered a cavernous cellar. It was full of odds and ends of all

kinds connected with printing, piles of proof sheets, discarded and unimportant, all kinds of rough packing paper, cases, boxes and bits of machinery, the odds and ends of a big printing office, cleared out when the great work was accomplished, hurriedly packed away, waiting for an opportunity of investigation, and then apparently entirely forgotten. There was nothing for it but to search, and with the help of two of the lay brothers, the examination was made, and down at the bottom, close to the floor, in what was fortunately, a very dry place, the precious book was found, and in triumph I carried up to the Prior the only perfect copy in existence of a magnificent piece of printing issued in 1612, and showed him a book which he had never seen, and which constituted a landmark in the history of his Order.

Then it was that he made me a present of the little book that now lies before me, a volume which cannot be bought, and is never issued to the public. It is printed for the sole use of the Order, and is never issued outside the monasteries. It is the daily office book of the Carthusian monk, is carried in his pocket from the moment he takes the habit to the moment of his sepulture. It is in daily and constant use, seldom out of his hand, and when he dies, it is buried with him. My copy was bound at the monastery by the monks themselves, whole bound in delightful brown morocco, and as the Prior told

me, is the only copy that has been given to anyone outside the Order, except the copy that is regularly sent to the Vatican, and it was handed over to me as the only gift the Prior could make to me, and as evidence of his gratitude for the trouble I had so gladly taken to find the missing copy of the 1612 folio.

To anyone who loves fine printing all the books of the Carthusians are worth examination. Many of them, for choir use, are great folios. Others are sumptuous quartos, printed on paper specially made for the Order, with ink, brilliant black and glorious scarlet, also specially made, and the work executed with the most absolute perfection of form and accuracy, because it is done *Ad Majoram Dei gloriam*. Even the smaller books, the little one that is given to the Fathers, the larger ones which form the library of his theological works, and the few—very few—which are printed for other religious societies, are all produced with the same attempt at perfection, everything, both as regards printing, paper and type, being done as well as possible, so that Carthusian books are among the best produced of printed books.

CHAPTER VI

QUEEN CHRISTINA'S MINIATURE PAINTER

IN December, 1904, the Swedish Minister had an article in the *Nineteenth Century Review* relating to Queen Christina, but there is one special interest that the Queen has for English students to which but little attention has been given, and which is not alluded to in that article. Queen Christina was a notable patron of art, and had attached to her Court several portrait painters, one of whom was an Englishman. Comparatively little has hitherto been known about this English painter, Alexander Cooper by name, and some recently discovered facts respecting him may be found of interest. He was a brother of Samuel Cooper, the greatest miniature painter that the world has ever seen, whose name stands for the finest work that this particularly English branch of art has ever achieved.

Horace Walpole tells us that Alexander Cooper was the nephew of John Hoskins, and the brother of Samuel Cooper, and that he "went abroad, resided some time at Amsterdam, and at last entered into the service of Queen Christina." He adds that he "painted landscapes in water-colours, as well as portraits," and re-

fers to a landscape with the story of Actaeon and Diana, which was in his time at Burghley, but is now no longer to be seen there. The great connoisseur had in his possession a miniature of a lady which was, he considered, the work of Alexander Cooper, and at the Strawberry Hill sale it was sold at two guineas. The only other reference that Walpole makes to Cooper is in connection with his note on Henry Hondius, the engraver, where he states that Hondius, in 1641, engraved a print of William, Prince of Orange, from a painting by Alexander Cooper. Beyond this information we have only a scrap or two from the compilers of biographical dictionaries. One tells us that the artist resided for a time in London with his brother; another that he was born in 1605, and was therefore four years older than Samuel Cooper; and a third that he left England when quite a young man, and never returned to this country.

To this somewhat trivial collection of statements I have been able, to add considerably, as the result of investigation in State archives in Holland and Sweden; and a narrative of a part of the artist's life, hitherto unknown, has now been revealed. The history of his career in Sweden commences in 1647, but we have a little information concerning his work in 1632 and 1633. During those years Cooper was resident at the Hague, and was painting a series of portraits for the King and Queen of Bohemia.

These delightful little miniatures were the property of the Ex-Kaiser and set in a series of twelve circular discs, which fold one over the other, and form, when folded together, a little pile about a couple of inches high. The top and bottom discs bear the royal crown and monogram and the date, 1633, in white on a black ground, and at the back of each portrait, in the same coloured enamel, are the name and age of the person whose portrait is contained in the disc, and also the record when it was painted. The edges of all the discs are enamelled in the same way in a pattern of transverse lines in the Bohemian colours. The portraits of Frederick the Fifth and his wife are thus inscribed: "Frederick R.B., aetat, 36, 16 August, 1632," and "Elizabeth R.B., aetat, 36, 9 August, 1632." That of the King was painted in the very year of his death, as on the 28th of November, 1632, he died of an infectious disease he had contracted at Frankfort, which took him off at Mainz as he was on his way into Holland to his wife and children.

The other portraits in the series represent the children of this amiable and accomplished royal pair, but three of them, those which should represent Prince Gustavus, Prince Edward, and Princess Sophia, are no longer in their frames. It is quite possible that they were never executed, but seems more likely that they have been lost. All the rest are, however, in their

place, and are delightful portraits of serious, and thoughtful, children. On each is inscribed the age of the child, and the date on which the portrait was painted. The eldest son, Charles, was painted on the 22nd of December, 1632, when he was fourteen years old. He was the prince who was so enthusiastic a supporter of English drama, who quoted Shakespeare freely, and translated and acted in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*. Prince Rupert "of the Rhine" was but twelve when his portrait was taken on the 27th of December, 1632, and his brother Maurice, equally distinguished in the English civil wars, was a year younger, and was painted on the 6th January, 1632. Philip, who was killed in battle in Germany when twenty-three years of age, was painted on the 26th of October, 1632, and was five years old at the time. Of the other four sons we have no portraits. The eldest, Frederick Henry, was never painted by Cooper, as he was drowned in 1629; the fifth son died in infancy; and, as just stated, the portraits of Edward and Gustavus are missing. The disc that should contain the one of Prince Edward is inscribed "Aetat. 8, 6th of October, 1632," and that for Prince Gustavus "Aetat. 1, 4th of January, 1633."

There are three portraits in the series of the daughters—Elizabeth, the friend of William Penn and of Descartes (who dedicated to her, his *Principia*), painted when she was thirteen,

on the 26th of November, 1632; Louisa, afterwards Abbess of Maubuisson, who was painted at the age of ten, on the 8th of April, 1632; and Henrietta, afterwards Princess of Transylvania, who was but six when her portrait was painted on the 7th of July, 1632. It would have been especially interesting to Englishmen to have seen the portrait of the youngest daughter, Sophia, as she was the ancestress of the Hanoverian sovereigns, and of the dynasty that now occupies the throne of England. The disc that should contain her portrait is inscribed, "Aetat 2, 14th October, 1633."

These portraits tell us that Cooper was a frequent visitor at the house of the Queen of Bohemia. It is probable that shortly after that time he was in England, for there is a miniature in Holland by him representing James the Second as a young lad, which must have been painted either about 1647 or when James was on a visit to Scandinavia during Cooper's residence in that country. In 1645 Cooper was in Holland, as Dr. van Riemsdyk discovered a note of a payment to him of 100 florins. Foster gives this information. It is probable that Cooper came to Stockholm in 1646, and in 1647 his name appears as "Abraham Alexander Cooper, the Jew portrait painter." This entry gives us two fresh facts respecting the artist. Until it was discovered we were not aware of his first name, nor of his Jewish nationality; but it is

clear that his talent prevented him from ever suffering by reason of his Semitic origin. By the 5th of July he had become portrait painter to Queen Christina, and the orders to the Treasury appear in the archives, signed by the two treasurers of the kingdom of Sweden, ordering payment of his year's salary of 200 riksdalers. The payment appears to have been made on the 10th of the same month, and the receipt in German is still preserved ; but it is interesting to notice that Cooper signs it "Alexander Cooper," having, apparently, dropped his first name.

There was another portrait painter employed by Queen Christina at the same time, known as Dawid Beck, and in an entry dated the 15th of September, 1647, there is a note of a payment to be made to Cooper of 200 riksdalers on his present year's salary account, and to "Dawid Beck," of 150, the two men being grouped together as her Majesty's portrait painters. There are other entries in succeeding account-books of similar payments, most of them being made "on account," and it is clear from them that the artist's allowance increased year by year, but that it was inconvenient to pay him his full stipend at one time. In 1650 he appears to have had an extra sum given to him as a signal mark of the favour of the Queen, the record being as follows : "October 16th. According to the letter of her Royal Majesty our gracious Queen, dated the 15th of this month, orders are given Secretary

Samuel Nilson, to pay portrait painter Beck 300 riksdalers silver, which her Royal Majesty has graciously appointed him for gala dress at her happy coronation. Mutatis Mutandis, for Portrait Painter Cuper."

From the date of this special payment information as to Cooper's connection with the court has to be obtained from another set of archives. His stipend in future was not paid through the Treasury as it had been hitherto, but through the Court cash accounts, and this would seem to imply a somewhat closer connection between the portrait painter and the Queen. He received 1,200 dalers for his stipend in 1651, his companion Bock (or Beck) having 900; and about that time he appears to have painted a portrait of the Queen, mounted in a gold chain and locket, which was presented to "Adjutant-General Niclaes Desmel, of General Konigmarke's army." It appears likely that the artist painted several portraits of Queen Christina. Two certainly were painted for one of the royal princes, and it seems possible that the person who commissioned them was the nephew of the Queen, who shortly afterwards became King in her place. Amongst a bundle of papers marked with the date 1652 are two accounts sent in by Alexander Cooper to Grypsholm, and filed amongst the accounts of the royal household. They may be roughly translated as follows:—

What I have done for your Royal Highness,
my Gracious Prince and Lord.

For five paintings in miniature, at 40 riksdalers	200
For crystal glasses to them	28
For the case for the bracelet	5
For the other bracelet, diamond and gold ..	70
For wages to Mon. Duwall for work done by him	10
For Mr. Munckhofen's painting in oil ..	40
	353

Your Royal Highness's obedient and faithful
servant,

Alexander Cooper, painter for Her Majesty
the Queen of Sweden.

The other is as follows :—

Another for your Grace, Highness, and Duke,
for miniature and oil works.

One painting for your Highness and Duke, which Monsieur Taube received and took with him into France	40
Two pictures of Her Majesty, which your Princely Grace received	80
Still another of your Grace for Count Magnus which you had	40
Still a small one for bracelet	40
Still two more, made ready for you ..	80

Still one of the Queen in oil, for your Princely
Grace 20

300

Alexander Cooper.

The Count Magnus mentioned in the foregoing account is evidently Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, whose portrait Cooper painted, and to whom he wrote a very pathetic letter importuning the Count that he would give orders for the payment to the artist of his salary for 1651 and for half of 1652, which was due to him. In this letter, which is copied into the archives, Cooper states that he was, "through the good will of God, ill and confined to his bed, and in the greatest need of the money."

Just before Queen Christina abdicated, Cooper was set to work to paint a portrait of the new King, Charles the Tenth, and there are many references in the minutes of the Treasury Board, to which volumes one has now to go for the quoted references to the artist's career, respecting presents of gold chains, medals, and portraits that "ought to be given" on the occasion of the ceremonial to the various ambassadors. He appears to have prepared at least three portraits of Charles the Tenth, two of which were set in diamond étuis, and one of them, we are told, was given to the French Ambassador in 1654. After King Charles had been formally placed upon the throne, Cooper

received further commissions, having evidently entered the service of the new monarch. There is an original order, both signed and sealed by the King, preserved in the Treasury books, ordering Cooper to make three portraits of his Majesty, and dated the 3rd of July, 1655. All three appear to have been set in diamond étuis, and were given away as presents in the following January—one to the Swedish Ambassador to Russia, Gustaff Bielke, another to Major-General Fleetwood, "who went to England," and the third to the Danish Ambassador, Major-General Wilhelm Drakenhelm.

*Mijn Herr Rent Meister
 For die drey Schildereijen
 müet ick hebben, 126, 126, 126
 het stück tot, 40, "Reicksdal
 Al. Cooper*

There are, so far as can at present be found, no further references to portraits of Charles the Tenth by Cooper in the Swedish archives, but there are a piteous series of applications for arrears of stipend due to

him after Queen Christina's departure, for portraits of the Queen and for other work. A receipt entirely in the handwriting of the artist is fastened on to one of the pages of the book of accounts, and is, so far as I am aware, the only scrap of paper in existence bearing the artist's own signature. (See illustration on previous page.)

During all this time Cooper was resident in Stockholm, and in 1652 there is a reference to his address in the tax-books of the city. He is spoken of as "Mons. Cuper," who lived "in the house of the surgeon in the inner quarter of the city," but he was declared as being "free from all taxes," and it is therefore possible that, as a Court official, he was exempt from such charges or in receipt of a special favour from his Sovereign granting him this privilege. In 1656 he left Sweden for Denmark, and entered for a time the service of King Christian the Fourth, executing various commissions for the King; but in 1657 he was back again in Stockholm, and there he appears to have resided during the remaining three years of his life. He died in 1660, in the early part of the year, somewhere before March, although the record of his decease does not give the day nor the month of his death. It declares in pathetic language that he died "at his rooms in the inner quarter of the city, alone, while at work, and with his brush in his hand." It would therefore appear as though he was overtaken by

some sudden illness while in pursuit of his professional work.

This is not the place in which to enter into any criticism of his painting. It may, however, be stated that in many respects his miniatures resemble those of his far greater brother, Samuel Cooper, but they are stiffer, more formal in composition, and harder and rougher in technique, than are the works of Samuel, while the colour scheme is always somewhat weaker. For many years the works of the two brothers have been confused, but when once the striking divergence between them is realised it is impossible for a connoisseur to be deceived. Very few miniatures by Alexander Cooper are known, and those that exist are for the most part in Holland or in Sweden. There are beautiful signed works belonging to the Queen of Holland, and two in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam. There is a portrait of Gustavus Adolphus, in the possession of the King of Sweden, which must have been painted before 1632, as the King died in that year, and which was therefore done before we have any trace of Cooper being in Sweden. It is a signed portrait, and unmistakable in its characteristic. Another portrait of the same monarch is at Gothenburg, having been presented to the museum by the descendants of a general to whose ancestors it was given by the King himself, and with it in the same museum is the portrait of Count Magnus,

to whom Cooper addressed the letter that has been referred to. Two works by the artist are in the Whitcombe Green collection; there is one in the royal collection at Windsor, two or three are at Montagu House, two belong to Earl Beauchamp, and there is one at Welbeck Abbey.

There is also a delightful miniature by him in the famous Wicanders collection in Sweden. It represents Gustav Otto Stenbock and came from the De la Gardie family. It is illustrated in colour in Dr. Asplund's sumptuous catalogue of his friend's collection.

There are several of his portraits in Finland, and there is a series of pencil drawings attributed to him in a private collection in London, but beyond these works very few can be definitely attributed to this little-known artist. It is curious that not one of the portraits that he painted either of Queen Christina or of Charles the Tenth is now known, and, so far as we know, they do not exist in any of the important private collections in Sweden, most of which have come under my inspection. It is possible that they were, most of them, given away to ambassadors, and they probably still remain in the hands of their descendants, although it is very likely that the name of the artist responsible for these portraits are not attached to them. None of the portraits of Queen Christina preserved in England can be attributed to Alexander Cooper, so far as I can at this moment state.

It would be interesting to surmise the reasons that attracted him to the Court of Sweden, and it is possible that the portrait he painted of Gustavus Adolphus may have come under the notice of Queen Christina and have led to his receiving an invitation to work for her.

Alexander Cooper appears also to have painted miniatures in enamel and this information has only come to light within the past few years. Baron de Bildt, the Swedish minister in Rome, has discovered in Queen Christina's correspondence with Paolo Giordano, Orsini II., Duke of Bracciano, some allusions to gifts made by the Queen to the Duke, some of which were miniatures, and among them was a portrait of herself by Alexander Cooper in enamel sent in November, 1651.

A second portrait—this time in coronation robes—followed, and she promised a copy in miniature by the same painter, of one of her Titians.

We know so little of the career of the miniature painters of the seventeenth century that, when fresh information comes to light, it seems desirable that attention should be directed to it. Close investigation may perhaps some day result in some similar knowledge coming to light regarding the far greater brother, Samuel Cooper, so frequently mentioned by Pepys in his Diary, and to whose hand we owe the grandest examples of miniature painting that have ever been executed.

CHAPTER VII

JOHN LOCKE'S POCKET BOOK

It is a rough scribbling book that has belonged to one of the greatest of England's worthies, the chiefest of her metaphysicians, and it contains, in brief form, information bearing upon his life and the customs of the age in which he lived.

Its contents serve as a touchstone upon which to test already accepted history, and possibly may help either to support or to destroy certain theories as to the life and times of Locke usually accepted as correct.

At the time that Mr. Fox Bourne wrote his exhaustive and masterly biography of Locke, this book was unknown to him, and it was a peculiar pleasure to me to lay before Mr. Bourne some new information bearing upon the subject of his devoted study.

To the great life of Locke already mentioned, and to much information given to me by its author, I was indebted for many notes for this article, and I expressed to Mr. Fox Bourne at the time, my warm gratitude for his considerate and thoughtful courtesy.

The volume itself is very tiny, measuring only $3\frac{3}{4}$ by 2 inches, is whole bound in brown

leather, with two small brass clasps, and bears upon its cover in embossed gilt letters the date 1669.

It contains John Goldsmith's almanack for that year, and bears the following imprint:—"London: Printed by Tho. Radcliffe and Tho. Daniel for the Company of Stationers, 1669." The almanack is followed by various quaint tables—The Kings of England—Moveable Feasts and Fasts—Chronology of important events—Terms—Tides—Discounts. A curious distance table showing the distance of various towns in each county from the City of London, a list of Fairs, and two strange astrological devices, with their explanations, complete the printed matter. Beyond this are some 38 pages of MSS. Inside the cover are four impressions in red sealing-wax of as many seals or rings. To one is attached the following note, written in ink:—"This was Locke's seal with the arms of his family." The seal is that of a shield bearing the following arms: "Per fesse *azure* and *or* on a pale, countercharged 3 hawks with wings endorsed of the last." This achievement, I am informed at Heralds' College, was granted to Michael Locke on 5th July, 1-2 Philip and Mary. The remaining three impressions appear to be those of stones engraved with classical figure subjects, and were probably taken from rings.

On page 1 of the inside cover is a note to this effect:—

“This pocket book belonged to Locke, and was given to H. L. Long by Lord Lovelace, and by him to me, C. E. Long, February, 1840.” How the book came into the possession of Lord Lovelace I have not been able to ascertain, but as Peter King, nephew (maternally) of John Locke, was the first Lord King and ancestor of Lord Lovelace, who is eighth Baron King, I presume that the book was found amongst some family papers belonging to the great Chancellor, in whose early education at Leyden his uncle, Locke, took so great an interest. Lord Lovelace gave the book to his old friend, Henry Lawes Long, Esq., J.P., of Hampton Lodge, Surrey, an eminent man of letters of his day, and well known a few years since in all literary circles. He married Lady Catherine, youngest daughter of Horatio, second Earl of Orford (of the second creation), and died in 1868. After his decease, the book came into the possession of Miss Long, of Landthorne Hatch, Farnham, who placed it in my hands for examination, and permitted its exhibition to the Royal Society, to which learned body the book had a peculiar and special interest. It is curious to notice that Peter, First Lord King, Baron Ockham, in the county of Surrey, and Lord High Chancellor, was born in 1669, the very year of the date of our pocket book.

The pages of the MSS. are all carefully numbered, and the notes are made with system,

cross references from one page to another occurring occasionally.

Locke in 1669, was resident in the family of Lord Ashley, and appears to have been considered family physician, tutor, and private friend, besides acting in some sort of honorary position of secretary. I am inclined to suggest, therefore, that many of the memoranda in the book relate to matters connected with Lord Ashley's household, in which he was probably acting for his employer and managing certain business arrangements.

The first note reads: "Stove. Mr. Hunt, an Ironmonger upon Great Tower Hill," and may be only a memorandum of an address.

Following it comes this further note: "T. Stringer, Jan. 9, I owe Mr. Stringer, upon account, £80, v(ide) an(no) (16) 68, page 55 ; paid March."

Mr. T. Stringer was Lord Ashley's private secretary and steward as well as Locke's personal friend, and it is suggested that this entry, as well as several others of similar character which follow it, relate to matters of account between Stringer as steward and Locke, who kept accounts for Lord Ashley, and his son Anthony. They may be, on the contrary, notes of personal transaction, as Locke was upon terms of very close intimacy with Stringer, who was evidently a very valued servant. When Ashley became Chancellor, in 1672, Thomas Stringer was des-

cribed as steward of the house. Locke used often to go and stay with Stringer at a country cottage which he possessed, and the great metaphysician was considerate to the family of his old friend, as the following notes from his diary of 1679 will show :—

“ Paid, 1s. 6d. for a drum for little T. Stringer.”

“ Paid for playthings for little Stringer, 3s.”

On page 12 are memoranda as to the purchase of certain books from a person of the name of Spencer. They are as follows :—“ Wilkins Charact.” £1 2s. ; “ World in the Moone,” 6d. ; “ Transactions ” (probably of the Royal Society, £1 2s. ; “ Cowley ” (probably the poems of), 14s. ; “ Almanack,” 5s. ; “ Sir Paul Neile Synopisoghica,” [*sic*] 4s. (binding 1s. 8d.) ; “ Friendly Debates,” 3s 9d. (binding 3s. 6d.) ; “ Stillingfleet’s Sermons,” 5s. 6d. ; “ Duke on the Sacraments,” 3s. ; “ Taylor’s Ground,” 2s. 6d. ; “ Donne’s Poems,” 4s. 6d. ; “ Nipotisms,” 3s. ; ditto, 3s. ; “ Hobbes,” £1 ; “ Binding of Books,” 5s. ; “ Agricola,” 16s. ; “ Transactions ” (probably Royal Society again), 6s. 2d. ; “ Friendly Debates,” 1s. 9d. ; “ Cartes Epistolae,” 12s. ; “ Evelyn’s Architecture,” 13s. 4d. ; “ The Gazette, No. 225,” 18s. ; ditto, 69, 2s. ; “ Memoir of P. Guif,” 5s. ; Reynolds, “ De Voce,” 1s. ; “ Three Discourses,” 1s. 6d. ; Parker’s “ Discourses,” 3s. 6d. ; “ Book on Witchcraft,” 1s. ; “ Calilai Opera,” English ; “ Hobbe’s Works,” Latin ; “ Josephi Laurentii Polymathia, folio

1666 ” ; “ Agricola, chirugia parva ” ; a French author of “ Architecture : comparing the ancient with the moderne ” ; “ Timaeus de fibulae ubi modus curandi,” 4to “ Hoffmann ” ; “ Anaglypta ” ; “ Bona Alberga herb, Marcellus Cumanus ” ; “ Galdus piscis ” ; page 6.

The last few items may probably be merely notes of books for future reference or purchase, and not actual purchases, as to them no price is appended ; particulars of size are occasionally given, and in one instance a reference to a page. It is not easy to identify many of the books in this list. Some few of them, however, are well known. “ Characters ” and “ The World in the Moone ” were written by Dr. John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester. The first is spoken of as a masterpiece of invention, and very chimerical, the second was written to prove that the moon was inhabited. Cowley, whose works Locke probably refers to, was a well-known man, and one of the founders of the Royal Society. “ Friendly Debates ” was, I expect, one of the numerous controversial pamphlets of the day. “ Stillingfleet ” was Edward, Bishop of Worcester, 1689-99, formerly Dean of St. Paul’s, and one of the greatest pillars of the English Church in his day. “ Dyke on the Sacraments ” was written by Jeremiah Dyke, of Epping, a Puritan, and the father of another Puritan, Dr. Daniel Dyke, ejected from his living for his nonconformity. “ Donne’s Poems ” evidently refer to the works

of Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, 1573-1631, "Nipotisms" (sic) was a book written against the practice of Nephewism, a term under which the Popes of the time were charged by the Reformers with concealing their illegitimate sons. "Hobbes" doubtless refers to the work of Thomas Hobbs of Malmesbury, 1588-1679, the author of "The Leviathan" and other works, on which were founded a system of philosophical government called Hobbism. "Agricola" I take as referring to the German reformer and scientist, 1492-1566, who was censured in his time for propagating antinomianism. "Cartes Epistolae" is most likely the letters of Rene Descartes (Cartesius), the French Philosopher, founder of a school that has even now many disciples. "Evelyn's Architecture" is the "Parallel of Architecture," translated by John Evelyn, the Diarist, and author of "Sylva." Of "Galileo" (spelt by Locke in an Italian phonetic form) I imagine the part of the work referred to would be the mathematical series, published by Thomas Salusbury in 1661.

There is an entry in the diary further on relating to Lord Ashley's wedding that is of peculiar interest. It is as follows :—

"A. Ashley, married 22nd Sept. to the Lady Dorothy Manners, and that day I was witness to the Deed sealed by the Earl of Rutland, Lord Roos, Lady Dorothy, Thomas Stringer, C. Durand,—Alsop, and delivered to the Lord Ashley."

It was in connection with this wedding that Locke is said to have acted the part of match-maker.

In the summer of 1669, he accompanied Lord Ashley, so Mr. Bourne mentioned in his "Life of Locke" already referred to, "on a visit to the Earl of Rutland at Belvoir Castle, and there opened negotiations for the marriage of his pupil with the Earl's daughter Lady Dorothy, then about twenty years old, and these negotiations he brought to a successful issue." The wedding took place at Belvoir, and in Lord Ashley's letter to Locke, consenting to the arrangement, the following pretty passage occurs: "My best blessing to my dear son, and desire him to present my most affectionate service to my Lady Dorothy, who has highly obliged me in all her carriage in this affair, having done all with so much sweetness and prudence as gives me the assurance of the greatest happiness in her both to myself and family"; and then, continuing, Lord Ashley says to Locke: "You have in the greatest concerns of my life been so successively and prudently kind to me that it renders me eternally your most affectionate friend and servant." As Mr. Fox Bourne remarked, it seems a little out of place to find Locke as a matchmaker, but he appears to have done his work gracefully, and made, at any rate, a good selection.

In connection with this wedding there are a few more entries in our little diary, all of interest.

In August 5th Locke notes the receipt from Lord Ashley of £20, "for Belvoir," money, I expect, intended to defray the needful payments in connection with Anthony Ashley's visit in search of a wife.

Below that is carefully recorded the payment away of this money, and it is a curious list of vails, or gratuities to servants at a great house in the seventeenth century :—"The keeper, 10s. 6d.; housekeeper, £1; cooke, £1; pantler (one who had charge of the bread and pantry), £1; butler £1; groom for the chair (sedan chair), £1; coachman, £1; groom, £1; two laundry maides, £1; under butler, 10s.; under groome, 10s.; gardiner, 10s.; postilian, 10s.; porter, 10s.; physic, 13s. 6d." The fees are well graduated, according to the position of their respective recipients, and were decidedly handsome in amount, according to the then value of money. The references to sedan chair and "postilian" bring up before one a picture of the vehicles of carriage of those days.

The entries in the pocket book a little further on make it clear that Locke had in October returned to London and was assisting in a political transaction of no small importance. On October 2nd, he writes :—"I was witness to Lord Ashley sealing a deed bearing date October, 1669, between the Lord Keeper on one part, and Lord Ashley and Sir Henry Vernon on the other part." This deed, it is evident from date and

parties, had reference to the establishment of the settlement of Carolina, in which, all earlier patents revoked, the district was given over by Charles II. to the Lord Chancellor (or Lord Keeper) Clarendon, and thence to eight Lord Proprietors, of which Lord Ashley was the most powerful and influential. Locke, in this settlement, took much interest, and, acting as secretary and chief adviser, was able, on behalf of the colony, to display his versatility of talent and the super-abundance of his energy.

To Locke was entrusted the drafting of the scheme of Government and constitution, and no colony was ever started with a more elaborate scheme of political, social, and religious organisation, the original draft of which, in a small vellum-covered volume of 75 pages, is still preserved amongst the Shaftesbury muniments, Series VIII., No. 3.

Locke was an important and early member of the Royal Society. According to Birch's History (1756, Vol. II., p. 323), he was proposed November 19th, 1668, and elected November 23rd. His proposer was Sir Paul Neil, a friend both of Boyle and Lord Ashley, and one of the most energetic members of the Society from the time of its incorporation in 1663.

Ten weeks after his election, *i.e.* on February 11th, Locke was chosen one of a Special Committee of eleven appointed for considering and directing experiments. On November 3rd, 1669,

he was elected a member of the Council, and on the following day appears this entry in his diary:—

“Royal Society—Paid to D. Colwall £2 3s., all dues to the Royal Society to Michaelmas last, and received an acquittance of him.” The amount is two guineas subscription and one shilling extra, which is probably for a diploma or letter of election.

Daniel Colwall, in 1669, treasurer to the Royal Society, and in 1703, one of the founders of its Museum, lived in an old house in Guildford, once forming part of the house of the Dominican Friars in that town, then known as the Friary. In that house the unfortunate gentleman ended his life by a pistol shot, and the chair stained with his blood was long preserved in the Friary. The ghastly relic was afterwards acquired by George, Earl of Onslow, and presented to the master's apartments in the hospital of the Blessed Trinity, founded in Guildford by George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and there it is still to be seen with the dark blood-mark upon it. Colwall was buried in the middle of the south aisle of St. Mary's Church, Guildford. It is a somewhat remarkable burying place for the body of a suicide, but I suppose that Colwall's important position, learning, and celebrity, gained for him the privilege usually denied to those who commit self-murder.

Locke inherited from his father, in 1660, while yet a student at Oxford, certain property in

Pensford, Somersetshire, and seven years later this estate appears to have been added to, possibly by the decease of other relations.

In the Shaftesbury papers is a list in Locke's writing of his tenants in 1667 and 1668, and giving their rentals and the expenses of the property. The aggregate rental appears to have been £73 6s. 10d., which at the present time would be worth quite three times that amount.

The property was managed for Locke by his father's younger brother, Peter, as Locke could but seldom visit his estate, and the pages of the diary headed "P. Locke" have evident reference to this estate.

On page 4 is an entry of the receipt on November 2, 1668, of the following rents due to Michaelmas, 1668 :—

Tom Anthony, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	..	..	..	£2	10	0
Fr. Liance, in part	..	..	..	5	0	0
Jam(es) Atkins, in part	..	..	..	1	8	0
T. Jones	..	..	..	1	0	0
An Hoping	..	..	..	4	18	0
Fr. Lyance, in part	..	..	..	7	3	3
Robt. Haroll	..	..	..	9	8	1
				£31	7	4

The money Locke states he received by the hand of T. Stringer, who probably brought it from Pensford to London. The necessary charges

on the estate were paid out by Robert Haroll, one of the tenants, and there are several lists in the diary of such charges.

In 1666, Lord Ashley was very ill, and was desirous of trying the waters of a spring at Astrop near King's Sutton, in Northamptonshire, just then brought into notoriety by another of Locke's fellow students, Richard Lower. Lord Ashley was coming to Oxford for the meeting of Parliament, and Thomas, who was attending him, wrote to his friend Locke from London begging that, as he could not at that time return to Oxford with his illustrious patient, Locke, would procure twelve bottles of water for Lord Ashley's consumption whilst in the city.

The waters were ordered by Locke, but did not arrive in time to be in readiness for Lord Ashley's arrival; and Locke, vexed at the occurrence, and desiring to excuse his friend, Dr. Thomas, from the blame of it, waited upon Lord Ashley. Introduced by Bennett, he made a most favourable impression upon the nobleman, who invited him to supper, and to drink the waters with him during his sojourn in Oxford, and in so trivial a manner originated their friendship.

The intimate acquaintance so commenced increased day by day, led to considerable patronage of Locke by Lord Ashley, and, widening into a firm friendship, only ceased at death.

Thomas seems, in 1669, to have asked Locke to

procure certain things for him in town, and it is notes of these purchases that Locke made in his diary. The following are the important entries:—

“A crucible, £1 3s. 6d., velvet cap, 17s. 6d.; watch, £9 10s. 0d.” Various purchases of mineral, for which certain unusual chemical signs are used which are not clear. Also purchases of Crocus, or some other drug designated as “Croc. Gr.” The total account came to £11 16s. 1d.

M^r Connors

67

Sept 19 Calmel 34 — 0-6-6
Oct 8 pil. cal. 31 — 0-10-0
23 Ens 2 34 21 — 0-8-0
Dec 18 Croc. gr. 34 21-8-0

68

Jun Calmel 31 — 0-0-6
Sp. 8 Dale 31 0-4-0
Nov 2 Calmel gr 28 0-2-0
Dec 30 Croc. gr. 31 — 0-10-0

Sp. L. m. m. 31 0-8-0

Apr. 5 Croc. gr. 31 0-6-8

Recd July 26 p. d. m.
m. m. m. m. m. m.
m. m. m. m. m. m.
m. m. m. m. m. m.
m. m. m. m. m. m.
m. m. m. m. m. m.

R Harrelly Bill from no Lady day
to much 68

Royall aid 2 month 0-0-5
Royall aid 3 month 0-0-12-6
Hearth money 0-7-0
Selling the m. l. l. 0-8-3
Shanty house 2. 0-0-6
Crown 1-17-0
Pavilion for the Hall 0-2-6
Pavilion carried by 0-10-0
D. m. l. l. 0-10-0
To Rich Taylor for 0-0-0
free m. l. l. 1-17-0

R Harrelly Bill from much little
to Lad 68

For Thatching of 1-0-0
Duchell 1-0-0
Royall aid 3 month 0-12-7
Royall aid 3 month 0-12-8
Hearth money 0-7-0
Half a year pay for
m. m. m. m. m. m. 0-10-0

At the end of the book are certain odd memoranda.

An address is recorded :—

“Tho. Hopkins, at the Black Horse, in College Green, Dublin.”

There is a memorandum, to enquire the price of some chemical for Thomas, and then, beyond that, another :—

“To send to Mr. Hughes from Burley to send all the greyhounds that were ordered to be sent to Mr. Ashley to Belvoir to my Lord Northumberland with the others, and to send back a letter to me of the receipt of the mare and colt.”

This, I expect, was a note made for Lord Ashley of a letter Locke was desired to write. Notes follow of payments made to “Grooms at Burley,” so that evidently Locke and his pupil visited Lord Exeter’s great house, “by Stamford town.”

One more page is of interest. It is headed “Mr. Concers,” and is an account for three years, 1667, 1668, 1669, for the purchase of drugs procured probably for him in London. The page is reproduced opposite ; and by the side of the account is this note. “Received July 26th, paid me in money and medicines the full of this bill, and all ended. J.L.”

Taking a general view of the whole book, the most noticeable feature to me in it is the extraordinary neatness, regularity, and precision of

the entries, betokening a mind of great exactness and lines of thought kept under careful command and within definite rule. The entries of loans bear the words paid, or settled, or part paid, and a cross reference to the page and year of the diary recording the close of the transactions. Initials heading the pages ; his own initials against the totals of various accounts ; the constant use of references to and from other diaries, and backwards to preceding pages of the same book ; the use of a tiny piece of blotting paper, transferred from page to page ; the diminutive size of the book, and the fineness of the writing, are all signs of this exceeding precision, and therefore of interest.

One entry of great clearness will illustrate the whole :—

“ Mr. W. Spencer.

“ Received of him, 20 July, by the hand of his servant, 15s., for the volume of plays I bought for him, and so all ended.
J.L.”

Of so great a man as Locke it is always refreshing to gather up fresh crumbs of information.

The book contains only scraps ; my work has been to gather them up, sort them, and identify the part of history to which they belong, and so to aid in a fuller understanding of the life and character of one of England's greatest and noblest philosophers.

CHAPTER VIII

THE J. PIERPONT MORGAN CATALOGUES

It has been said that since the times of the Medici, there has never been a virtuoso who can be compared with the late Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, and that his career as collector and connoisseur can only fittingly be put side by side with those of the members of that great Italian family. Another writer has compared the Morgan collection of treasures with those which have been gathered together by the various members of the Rothschild family, and here we are perhaps on firmer ground. Not very much is known about the collections made by the Medici, but a good deal is known, and much more can be ascertained about the famous collections which have been brought together by different members of the great Frankfort banking family. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the Rothschilds are a *family*, that Mr. Morgan was a single individual, and that, however great have been the collections brought together by the various members of that very wealthy family of connoisseurs, yet we have to compare the work of a dozen persons with that of one collector. The more that we do so, the greater does the

marvel appear that any man, working alone on his own responsibility, and within the space of one lifetime, should have brought together into one place a collection which embraces the choicest examples from perhaps fifty different fields of craftsmanship. It must be granted, of course, that one of the great sources of Mr. Morgan's success was determined by the avidity with which he purchased other collections, adding one to the other, and in many cases acquiring a group of objects which had been obtained by a succession of owners, had been weeded out in order that only the best should be retained; and as a result, afforded a representative selection of fine things relative to a particular artist or epoch. Having the means to acquire several of these collections in their entirety, he was able to avail himself of the work of past generations of collectors, and present a complete view of a special subject impossible for any person who had started collecting within recent days.

It may be noted in passing that, he gathered about him a group of experts to advise him in certain sections, keeping them for the most part, rigidly within their own special groove, and consulting them upon the questions which they understood better than other people, and, as he was able to pay the highest price for the finest things, he secured, as a rule, what he wanted. It was not worth while to plant upon him forgeries

because when the prices paid were so large, the risk was proportionally serious, and one which no collector, and certainly no dealer, was prepared lightly to undertake. It was fittingly said by a recent writer that it was very difficult to know what Mr. Morgan collected, because it was almost impossible to think of any group of art objects which he did *not* collect. His reach was a wide one, his love of beauty extended into all classes of craftsmanship, and his desire to have the very best in every way was overpowering. In one respect, he may fittingly be compared with the members of the great Jewish banking house already mentioned, because, like the Rothschilds, he was eager to help others who followed after him in the study of art, by preparing catalogues of what he himself possessed, and describing his various treasures with all the necessary technical detail. He went, however, far beyond these great modern collectors, and it may perhaps be said that no collector has produced, for the benefit of posterity, a series of books which can be compared to the group of catalogues which Mr. Morgan caused to be compiled by various experts whom he gathered about him.

Most of the volumes of this fine collection lie before me, and they constitute a library in themselves. They vary in size and in proportion. Some are of enormous size, royal folio, and even larger than royal folio ever was, because the

height of the great volumes on pictures is twenty-two inches and a half, and the royal folio ends at twenty inches. Others are octavo and quarto, while one certainly is a duodecimo, and the group, which comprises over fifty volumes, contains books which range between these sizes, and are illustrated more or less completely in different methods of book illustration.

It would ill befit me to say anything whatever in these pages concerning the contents of the six volumes for which I was responsible, but I may perhaps be permitted, in glancing at the whole series, to say something about their illustrations, more especially as these constitute one of the most important features of the six books in question. Illustrations always appealed to Mr. Morgan. He loved his treasures, and he liked to see adequate representations of them, and with regard to certain volumes of the catalogues, his own statement was that he wished the illustrations to be made as perfect as possible in order that, should anything happen to the original objects, should they be lost in the ocean, or should they perish by fire or earthquake, the illustrations would remain, and would be of sufficient accuracy and importance to enable students to work from them with almost as great an advantage as if the actual objects were before them. He went further, because, knowing that it would be impossible for European students to give close attention to many of the objects he

possessed, when they had been transported to his distant home, he distributed these catalogues with a lavish hand through the great libraries of Europe, sending them to places in many instances so remote as Petrograd and Breslau, as Bucharest and Copenhagen, so that the students of Europe could go to the Universities and museums near at hand, and acquire the knowledge they desired.

He also presented these sumptuous books to the colleges, libraries and museums of his own much beloved United States, and even Egypt profited by his generosity, India was not forgotten, and South America certainly on one occasion received a remembrance of his benevolence. Merely to glance at the titles of these catalogues shows how far-reaching were his interests. In ancient art to begin with, there are books upon Greek and Roman bronzes, antique glass, papyri, and upon a wonderful manuscript of the Gospels.

The tiniest book in the series, the duodecimo of thirty-eight pages with twenty-one plates, issued in New York in 1908, is the work of Mr. C. H. W. Johns, and relates to the wonderful Ur-Engur bronze of the fourth century, an object of the greatest possible interest and importance. Issued in the same year, and by the same writer, there was a catalogue of the objects with cuneiform inscriptions which had been gathered together, and which form part of this wonderful

collection, and there were six volumes issued in 1903 by Mr. Froehner, concerning the collection of antique glass, three relating to the Amherst collection of papyri, which Mr. Morgan bought *en bloc* from Lord Amherst of Hackney; and three more, the work of the scholarly Mr. Seymour de Ricci, which refer to the three-fold collection of antiquities, Gallo-Roman, Merovingian and Germanic, the great collector had acquired.

The volume written by Mr. Hoskier on the beautiful early manuscript of the Gospels, of which Mr. Morgan was so justly proud, is a triumph of typography in its own particular way. When the Pope started the commission for the study of the Vulgate, there was a great desire expressed on the part of Cardinal Gasquet, then Head of the Commission, that facilities might be afforded him and his helpers of studying this precious early manuscript. Photographs of it accordingly were made, because Mr. Morgan was always ready to assist scholarly and scientific research, but when the photographs had been prepared, it seemed to him that it would be far better to go further, to produce a complete book on the manuscript, and to illustrate in coloured facsimile its glorious purple and gold, and its uncial writing, in order that every aid should be afforded to the students who were working at the manuscript of the Vulgate, and that they might have before them, in the

most perfect form, easily available, a work dealing with this manuscript, compiled by someone who was *facile princeps* in all matters concerning it. This was the origin of Mr. Hoskier's work, and it exemplifies one interesting trait of Mr. Morgan's character.

In a few instances, when he purchased his various collections, catalogues more or less complete were in existence. Sometimes they were in manuscript, others had to a certain extent been printed, and in one or two cases the catalogue had been already prepared prior to Mr. Morgan's purchase of the collection and accompanied it, but as a rule, even if this was the case, the Morgan hall-mark was given to the volume by its re-issue or by the splendid manner of its production. As an example of this, let me take the catalogue prepared by Mr. Bernard Franck, concerning his collection of eighteenth century ivory tablets in wonderful gold and enamel cases, known in France as *Carnets de bal*. Of this catalogue, only fifty examples were printed, and the book in consequence is a rare one. Mr. Franck had given away one or two copies of the catalogue before he sold the collection. Mr. Morgan acquired all the remaining copies with the collection and distributed them with the utmost care, but before he did so, he added to the catalogue. The title-page tells us that it described 124 *Carnets de bal du huitième siècle*, and that Mr. Franck had been forming the

collection between 1875 and 1902, and had obtained examples of every variety with which he was acquainted, but when we turn to the end of the book, we find not only 124 illustrated, but 130, because Mr. Morgan acquired six superb examples, entirely different from any that were mentioned in Mr. Franck's catalogue, and, as he purchased them almost at the same time as he bought the Franck collection, he decided to have these others illustrated at the end of the book. The pages illustrating these were printed in the same type as all the other part of the book, although they were printed in England, and the rest of the book in France ; but an exact replica of the type used in France was made for these extra pages, the illustrations were printed in exactly the same way as all Mr. Franck's illustrations, the extra leaves were of the same paper, and the whole thing was so bound up [that, unless one knew the story of the addition to the volume, one could only tell that these pages had been added by the very slight difference in the colour of the gilding on the edges, and by the fact that the new pages are somewhat stouter, and have not the curve of the earlier ones.

In another instance, the catalogue which had already been commenced by an expert of long experience, was completed after his death by another and full tribute was paid to each of the workers, one of whom had commenced his task

long before Mr. Morgan acquired the collection in question. One writer only just lived long enough to see his own sumptuous catalogue issued. Few volumes are more beautiful in the whole range of this series than the one prepared by the Count Xavier de Chavagnac, dealing with the French porcelain, and notably with that of Sévres. Count de Chavagnac was the greatest authority on his subject, and he took infinite pains in preparing his sumptuous catalogue to give the most perfect descriptions of the objects in question, to obtain from the archives of the Royal factory full information respecting their dates, the artists who decorated them, and their history, so as to make the book one of standard reference where French porcelain, either of Sévres, Chantilly, St. Cloud, or Vincennes was concerned.

Its illustrations are marvels of French colour printing. Nothing better was ever produced by a mechanical process. A special frontispiece was engraved, and a special cul-de-lampe, and these in accordance with French fashion, were printed in two states, one on the finest of thin vellum, before letters, and one after letters on *papier Japon*. The whole book was produced on paper specially made for the purpose, at the National Printing Office of France, with the authorisation of the Minister of Justice, and only 150 copies were printed, of which twenty-five special ones were bound in morocco, and

No. 16 of this extraordinary issue is in my possession.

The Count only lived long enough to see his precious book through the press, and to handle the first copy of it, and he was never able to hear the glowing eulogies which its owners pronounced upon the book to which he had devoted so many years of his life. So suddenly had he died, that it was not known for certain in Paris whether the book was actually complete, and more than one scholar in Europe was approached with a view to completing the work, if it was left unfinished, as had been surmised.

Some knowledge of the difficulty in producing an illustrated book enables a real bibliographer to appreciate to the fullest extent the three fine volumes which comprise the catalogue of manuscripts and early printed books, forming part of Mr. Morgan's library, and issued in 1907. These volumes are the work of that well-known authority, Mr. Alfred J. Pollard, of the British Museum, and they have one feature which distinguishes them from every other catalogue of the kind. I speak under correction, but I have the strongest possible belief that they are the only books of their kind where the illustrations or facsimiles appear actually facing or side by side with the descriptions of the books to which they refer. In many books of this sort, it has been found impossible to have the illustrations adjacent to the descriptions. In these Morgan

volumes it was determined that no difficulty should prevent this, and infinite trouble was taken in arranging and in altering and planning the description of the books, so that, side by side with the descriptions, and facing them on the next page, should occur such illustrations of the books as the volume contained. No one who has not been accustomed to such work can understand the difficulty entailed by this task, but it was triumphantly carried out by its learned author, and as a general result, the volumes are far more useful for the purpose of reference than any other similar books of the same character with which I am acquainted.

Here again, and in an even more sumptuous catalogue of the manuscripts prepared by Dr. James, no pains were spared by way of illustration. The best of colour processes were adopted, the best of facsimile work used in the reproductions of the colour-plates, and in these four books, and the equally sumptuous volume on the Toovey collection of book-bindings, the illustrations are as fine as any mechanical process could possibly ensure.

When Mr. Morgan came to deal with his pictures he wanted to have something rather different in his catalogue from what had ever been produced, and suggested that the frames in which the pictures were exhibited should be included in the photogravures. The result has been particularly satisfactory. The pictures look far

better in their frames, than if they had been represented without them. The book is, of course, in its three huge volumes, somewhat inconvenient to handle, on account of the large size of the plates, but these are wonderfully printed, and give a better view of the pictures to which they refer than is perhaps the case in any other similar catalogue. In these three great folio volumes, the work of Mr. William Roberts, the pictures are represented by eighty-nine photogravure plates, and by coloured frontispieces. Mr. Humphry Ward wrote the introduction to each volume, and the biographical and descriptive notes which Mr. Roberts added to his account of each picture have great importance, and serve to give all future students absolute and authoritative data upon which to base their knowledge.

It should be added that for convenience Mr. Morgan had all the letterpress contained in these three huge volumes reprinted in an 8vo volume, and bound in green morocco. This book was privately printed like the other and presented to various scholars and Libraries.

Similarly important, and almost as huge in size, are the three volumes on the collections of bronzes. Dr. Bode was responsible for the first two volumes dealing with the bronzes of the Renaissance, and Sir Cecil Harcourt Smith, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, for the last which deals with Greek and Roman bronzes.

To the final volume, there is a pathetic interest attached, because the book has only been issued since the decease of the great collector, and he himself possessed in his library only the incomplete and advance copy of the illustrations, and a small part of the letter-press. Those of us to whom Mr. Morgan promised the book, did not receive it till nearly a year after his death, and it is sad to reflect on the fact that this great volume, superbly illustrated with its long series of coloured photogravures, was never in its complete setting in the hands of the connoisseur who commissioned its production.

The silver plate, a magnificent collection, was catalogued by Mr. E. A. Jones in two great books, one dealing exclusively with the Gutmann collection of German plate, and the other with all the rest. These volumes are splendidly illustrated by gravure plates.

The carved woodwork and metal work and other treasures of the Hoentschel collection were dealt with by Messrs. Peraté and Brière in 1908, in four volumes with 268 gravure plates and some colour plates.

The Chinese porcelains comprise three volumes, the two issued in 1904 and 1911, the work of Mr. Morgan's old and valued friend, Mr. W. M. Laffan, and the one which was issued in 1907, partly by Mr. Bushell, and partly by Mr. Laffan, and here again we have to record the fact that Mr. Laffan did not live long enough to

be able to complete, all the work in connection with it to which he had set his hand.

Mr. Laffan knew his subject exceedingly well, few men knew it better, and the volumes for which he was responsible are important contributions to the history of the porcelain of the great Eastern Kingdom.

Another very beautiful book is the one on the Fairfax Murray Old Master drawings, two volumes, delightfully illustrated in facsimile.

Then there are catalogues by Molinier of the Oppenheim collection and the Mannheim collection, the great treasures of which Mr. Morgan acquired.

There is also the little catalogue by Mr. Seymour de Ricci of the tapestries, and a smaller catalogue of these tapestries in French, and there is yet to appear the final work by the same author on this series of Renaissance tapestries, unequalled in their importance by any other collection, because the work commenced by Mr. de Ricci before Mr. Morgan's death was not completed by him until after that event had taken place.

Dealing with a somewhat abstruse subject was the catalogue compiled by Mr. Kondakoff on the Byzantine enamels, a very scholarly work, which will always be referred to by students who wish to give special attention to this recondite and somewhat obscure field of art,

and also one by Mr. Walters on certain special Enamels of the same period.

As regards the miniatures, the jewels, the carved woodwork and rock crystal, and above all, the watches, mechanical process was not accepted. Mr. Morgan was not satisfied that any such process could adequately represent these special treasures, and in the end artists were employed for the purpose of painting the coloured reproductions, were trained and taught how the work was to be done, and set to work to copy, with absolute fidelity, the original objects set before them, so that in the two editions-de-luxe of these six catalogues those printed on real vellum and on Japanese vellum, there are hand-coloured illustrations, rivalling in accuracy the originals, and in the case of objects in metal, produced in gold and silver leaf, engraved, tooled and decorated, so that they should facsimile the actual object which they represented.

It was only in these six volumes that Mr. Morgan decided to employ hand-work, and the result gave him great satisfaction.

Certain copies of the book for more general circulation were produced without the hand-coloured illustrations, with a large number of photogravure plates, but the sumptuous ones were reserved for presentation to various monarchs in Europe, members of his own family and the great museums of the world.

These books are thick quarto volumes, the sumptuous issue fastened with clasps and with silver mounts, and each book set in its own slip-case.

A curious little catalogue not often to be met with and of rarity, because so few copies were printed concerned his collections of rare wines and vintages of the most famous years, and of the highest importance for quality, bouquet and charm.

Here are described famous wines known only to a few connoisseurs, in many instances to be found only in Mr. Morgan's cellars, parcels strictly limited in quantity all that could be obtained representing the most famous vineyards of Europe.

There were no such Madeiras or Tokays, no such old Claret in Magnums, no such Sherries in Demijohns, and certainly no such eighteenth century Cognacs and Armagnacs to be found as this little book records, and hardly can any cellar compete with a list so carefully selected and so wonderfully complete.

The whole series of catalogues gathered up together forms an imposing monument to the greatest collector who has ever lived, and one which will endure as long as there are any students of art, who desire at first hand to obtain authoritative information upon the subjects of special interest to them.

CHAPTER IX

BRADSHAW

I WONDER how many of those who are in the habit of constantly using Bradshaw's Railway Guide have ever noticed that the date on each of its issues is given, not in ordinary form, but in the manner especially adopted by the Quakers, so that in lieu of saying the 20th of June, the date is given as the 20th of Sixth Month, and that in the case of the monthly issue, the name of the month does not appear, but the time-table bears the figures of the 4th or 5th or 6th Month, as the case may be. I wonder also how many have ever examined the first of the editions of this famous book, or thought that there were first editions of it, and how surprised they would be if they compared the present portly volume with the tiny thin book which was really the first issue of Bradshaw's Railway Guide. This very first edition of all was a little book issued at 6d. on the 19th day of the Tenth Month in 1839, and what has been called the second edition was issued on the 25th of the same month in the same year. In between these two books, there appears to have been issued another for the little volume, printed on the 25th of the month, is

called No. 3, but of No. 2, only a single copy is known still to remain. It has just been discovered in the possession of Bernard Quaritch, Limited. It was regarded as of such slight importance that copies were not kept, and no public or private library has at present, so far as I know, been able to produce any copy of Bradshaw's Railway Time-Tables bearing the statement that it was No. 2. As a matter of fact, in all probability, the two books to which I have just-referred were not first and second editions, because the railway time-tables, issued by George Bradshaw, were in two forms, one for the Liverpool and Manchester districts, and one for London and Birmingham districts, and, to a certain extent, the two overlapped one another. One was issued at 6d. the other at a shilling. It is not easy to account for the difference in price, because there was very little between the sizes of the two volumes, although certainly the shilling one was slightly the stouter of the two, but not sufficiently so to account for the doubling of the price. It was probably ascertained, immediately after the issue of the first book, that 6d. was not a sufficiently high price for it, and other issues were made 1s. The first little book is bound in green cloth, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 inches, and is lettered in gold on the side "Bradshaw's Railway Companion." The other is bound in purple cloth, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{8}$, and it has on the cloth an attached label in which is lettered in green relief

on gold, "Bradshaw's Railway Time-Tables, price one shilling."

Who, we might ask, was the man whose name has passed into a household word, the issuer of this first little railway time-table, whose name it still bears? He was George Bradshaw, a Quaker, who lived in Manchester in 1835, and followed the calling of an engraver of maps and plans of cities. He was the son of Thomas Bradshaw and his wife Mary Rogers, and was born near Salford on the 29th of July, 1801. His parents were of humble origin, but they determined to give their son a good education, and after being instructed for a while by a Mr. Coward, a Swedenborgian minister, to whose Church his parents were attached, the boy was sent to school at Overton, a school kept by Mr. Scott. Later on, he was apprenticed to an engraver in Manchester, named Beale. In 1820, his parents went to Ireland, and George Bradshaw appears to have accompanied them, and there commenced work on his own account, as an engraver, but the business was not successful, and he returned to Manchester. Here he set to work at land surveying and the production of various maps, the first of which was of Lancashire, and that one was followed by maps of the canals of Lancashire and Yorkshire, which a recent writer has described as in all probability "still the most complete record of our inland navigation."

By this time, George Bradshaw had left the Swedenborgians, to become a member of the Society of Friends, and was active in the cause of peace, in working in schools for poor children, especially on Sundays, and was also associated with a very well-known temperance advocate of the day, Elihu Burritt.* In 1839 Bradshaw married Martha Derbyshire, also a member of the Society of Friends, and it was then that he commenced to issue his time-table, and is believed to have done so, in the first place, with a view to illustrating his beautiful work as a map engraver. He tells us, in the very first issue, that the necessity for the book was so obvious, to need no apology, that he published it by the assistance of the several railway companies, and that therefore the information might be depended upon as being correct and authentic, and he himself vouches for the accuracy of the maps and plans with which it was adorned. He announced that the next issue of the book would be on the 1st of First Month, 1840. There were three editions of the first book. The first, dated 19.10.39, contained however only the Liverpool, Manchester and Northern Railways, the second dated 29.10.39 the Southern Railways, the third volume was an amalgamated edition of the Northern and Southern tables. The price was raised then to a

* When a boy I heard this man give a temperance address at the Crystal Palace.

shilling, and the figure 3 appears on the right corner of the title. All three books were published concurrently for a year or two. Their popularity decreased as the Monthly Guide became established, and the Companion died about 1848. In 1841 he started another, which is really the more direct progenitor of the time-table of the present day, and which bears the same title "Bradshaw's Guide." He relinquished the phrase "Railway Time-Table" and "Railway Companion" which he had adopted in the first two little books, did not attempt any binding in cloth, or the issue of elaborate maps, but brought out boldly on the 1st of 12th Month, 1841, what he simply called "Bradshaw's Guide" and which consisted of thirty-two pages of print, at once the cheapest and most complete book that had been published on the subject. A little later on, in 1843, he came back again to his old love of maps, and introduced into it ten coloured maps, and some plans, and from this guide-book descend in steady progress, the present books so familiar to all of us. I need not pursue the long story of the changes, in fact it is not possible for me to do so, because no one quite understands the evolution of this particular book, inasmuch as the September issue of 1844 bore the number of 146, as though it had been the 146th issue, and yet the evidence is quite contradictory, as the previous number, so far as can be traced at present, was No. 40. What there

was in between, or what accounts for this curious jump in figures, no one can tell. The story has never been elaborated from a bibliographical point of view, and perhaps it is hardly worth the while of any bibliographer to give it the requisite attention, but the three little books issued in 1839, will bear some careful consideration, and there are many curious features about them which are of interest in the present day. One thing that at once strikes the observer is the extreme beauty of the maps and plans. They are very small, and not easy to use on account of their abundance of detail, but they are marvellously accurate and extraordinarily well engraved, evidence that Bradshaw, even in his earliest days, was desirous of giving the best that he could to his customers. Then, when we begin to examine the letterpress, there are many strange references. The once accepted tradition that no official of a railway company is to receive a tip, existed even in those early days. We find amongst the important notes that "no gratuity, under any circumstances, is allowed to be taken by any servant of the company." It is also quite evident that the trains went slowly and that the people who travelled by them were restless, and inclined to move about at the various stations, because we are told that, "to guard against accidents and delay, it is especially requested that passengers will not leave their seats at any stations except on the way between

London and Birmingham at Wolverton, where ten minutes is allowed for refreshments." In these early days, the seats were numbered, the number appeared on the ticket, and a passenger might claim the seat corresponding to his ticket, and when not numbered, he might take any seat not previously occupied. It is curious, however, to notice that the passenger was not always provided with a seat *inside* the carriage, and that there were *outside* seats, for which a lower scale of fares was charged. He could, if he preferred, ride in his own carriage, and that carriage could be put on to the railway. In that case, he did not have to pay first-class, but "gentlemen riding in their own carriages are charged second-class fare, and servants and grooms riding with the horses, fourteen shillings for the fare between Birmingham and Manchester." The railway officials were just as particular about their tickets then as they are now, perhaps even more so. We read "The check ticket given to the passenger on the payment of his fare will be required from him on leaving the coach, or at the station next before his arrival at London or Birmingham, and if not then presented he will be liable to have the fare again demanded." There were no smoking carriages, and we read in the time-table, "No smoking is allowed at the station, nor in the Company's carriages." The regulation about children is rather curiously worded. We are told that

“infants in arms, if unable to walk,” are free of charge, and one immediately begins to wonder as to what class of infant in arms would be able to walk! It was evidently a great favour to the public that waiting-rooms should be provided, and attention was particularly drawn to the fact that there was an attendant in charge, the matter being mentioned twice in one sentence. “At the Wolverton Central Station, a female is in attendance, where refreshments may be obtained at the Birmingham Station, refreshments are provided, and waiting-rooms with female attendants.”

The second-class carriages were open at the side, without lining, cushions, or divisions in the compartment, but the second-class carriages that were used on the night mail train were closed, and entirely protected from weather. On that train it was mentioned that “each carriage has a small roof lamp.”

With regard to luggage “passengers,” we read, “are especially recommended to have their names and addresses or destination legibly written on their luggage, when it will be placed on the top of the coach in which they ride, unless it be in a bag or other small package, so small as may be conveniently taken into the carriage, and placed under the seat opposite to that they occupy.” I believe I am correct in stating that at the present day no passenger has the right to place his luggage in the rack over his own head

in the railway carriage. The place where he should put it is in the rack opposite, the idea being that he can keep his eye upon it, and it will be seen that this was the case in the early days of railway travelling, as the small packages were then placed opposite to the passengers, although they were under the seats, and not above them.

There are many examples similar to these which prove how conservative we have been in England in the matter of railway regulations. When they have once been planned and agreed upon, they remain, and it takes almost an earthquake to alter them. Allusion has already been made to the old-time fiction that no servant of a railway company is allowed to accept a gratuity, and the present custom, which has singularly little to recommend it, and which states that a ticket, once issued, cannot be transferred to anyone else, and cannot be used upon any other day than the one whose date it bears, is another survival of the early regulations. The little time-table before me states that "A passenger, having once paid his fare, and taken out a ticket, may go by any of the trains that day, but the ticket will not be available on the following day, unless in any very special instance."

An odd feature appears with regard to children's fares. The book states that "children under seven years of age for first-class carriages are charged second-class price, but for second-

class carriages are charged third-class price." Probably the result was, however, very much what it is in the present day, when the child's fare is half-price for an adult.

The division of the trains was, of course, different from what it is now, as in the time-table we read of first-class and second-class trains, as well as quick trains, mail trains and mixed trains, these phrases referring in some cases to the speed, and in other cases to whether the carriages are of all classes, or some are open and some closed. The table of trains is of course a very short one, and the little books only relate to certain districts, the green book giving the trains from Liverpool to Manchester, from Manchester to Littleborough and back, from York to Leeds and Selby and back, from Preston to Liverpool and Manchester and back, and from Manchester to Bolton and back, together with the fares and hackney coach fares from Lime Street Station, Liverpool, and various places in the city.

The second book gives the fares from London to Birmingham and back, from London to Twyford and back, from Birmingham to Liverpool and Manchester and back, from Liverpool to Manchester and back, and from Newcastle to Carlisle, and also, in a very much abbreviated form, the trains for Birmingham and Derby, Manchester and Leeds, Manchester, Bolton and Bury, Nottingham and Derby, Sheffield and Rotherham, London and Twyford. In addition

to this, we have, in the second book, the hackney coach fares from Euston Station to various places in London, divided into two groups, either for a coach or for a cab, in the same sort of table as for the various distances in Liverpool.

A little later, a volume was issued which contained the railways from London to Brighton, but the very idea of travelling with a season ticket seemed to be inconceivable, for after announcing that only first-class trains stopped at first-class stations, a phrase which is not very easy to understand, and then having described the trains as containing their best carriages—"glass coaches," it went on to state that an annual subscription ticket from London to Brighton and back would cost one hundred pounds!"

It is sometimes difficult for us to understand that so short a time has elapsed since the first railways were introduced into England. Very rapid progress has been made in all matters connected with them, yet, in the midst of all this, there occur well-defined rules which were laid down at first, and have not been altered to the least extent.

George Bradshaw continued to issue his guide up to the time of his death, and was the founder of the firm which is still responsible for this very useful book. He himself, having taken great interest in Peace Conferences, attending

various important meetings in Frankfort, and various places abroad, began to lend a helping hand to the ocean penny postage movement, and was present at a Conference held in its support in Manchester, in 1853.

He was at that time keenly interested in Continental Bradshaws, which seemed to him to offer a wider sphere of circulation than the English one, and, anxious to gather up information himself on the spot concerning the Continental railways, went off to Norway, about the railways of which country little was known at that time. Cholera was raging in Christiania, and three days after Bradshaw's arrival in that place, he died from this fatal malady, when he was but fifty-three years of age but his name will probably endure till the last train has finished running.

N.B.—While this chapter was in print, I found out that my friend Mr. E. H. Dring was preparing to study the bibliography of Bradshaw, and I am greatly indebted to him for some new information which I have incorporated on pages 120 and 121. He is studying the whole subject, aided by several unique works in his possession, and he will, I hope, in due course produce a finished bibliographical treatise on these interesting and very rare little books.

CHAPTER X

THE PUBLICATIONS OF YE SETTE OF ODD VOLUMES

THERE is a fascination about tiny books, and this seems to be intensified when they are short and square and squat “dumpy twelves” as some writer has styled them. There is also of course an especial charm about privately printed volumes, books that the ordinary purchaser cannot buy from the booksellers, and which are only issued for the members of a society. Both these elements of attraction are united in the privately printed Opuscula of the Sette of Odd Volumes. The books are difficult to get. Very few people have a complete series, because one of the books is so rare that it is almost impossible to purchase a copy of it. I have been collecting these dainty little volumes for a long time, and I think that I am nearer to perfection in my series of Odd Volumes than any other member of Ye Sette can claim to be, and yet one never can tell. It is only a few months since that there was sold to a member of the Society in one of the auction rooms in London two copies of one of the volumes (No. 7), printed on large paper, and each differing from

the other, both in the size of the paper, and in bibliographical peculiarities. No one had known that there were more than 133 copies of that book printed, and no one had guessed that out of that 133 there were any on large paper. Perchance these were proofs, or perhaps copies printed for the author himself, but they had never been heard of before, and such a circumstance may, of course, happen again.

Ye Sette of Odd Volumes claims to have existed from time immemorial. As a matter of fact, the "time immemorial" goes back to about 1875, but it has managed to do a good deal of work in its time, and only a little while ago held its 370th dinner.

The first of its privately printed books was issued in 1880, and was called "B.Q."—a biographical and bibliographical fragment relating to its first President, the well-known and greatly respected Bernard Quaritch. Since then the little series has gone on extending, and the last volume that was issued to the members of the Sette was numbered 73.

The books deal with all kinds of subjects. They are, for the most part, papers or essays that were read by members of the Sette at the meetings, usually after dinner, and as the persons forming the Sette have generally been selected because they knew more about some one special subject than anyone else, so the papers and essays contain something definite in the way of information

on the author's own subject, that is not to be found elsewhere. There are papers on "Intaglio Engraving," on "Caligraphy," "Blue and White China," "Neglected Frescoes in Northern Italy," "Automata," "The Royal Society," "The Sweating Sickness," "London Antiquities," "University Magazines," "Odd Numbers," "Ships," "Queen Anne Music," "Frost Fairs on the Thames," "Liturgical Literature," "Children's Books," "Coloured Books," "Plagiarism," "Magic Mirrors," "Organ Music," "Arabs," "Scottish Witchcraft Trials," and many other subjects, and they are all printed with the same characteristics, and all about the same size, not absolutely regular on the bookshelf, because some are rather taller than others, some more fat, and others a trifle more dumpy, but there they are, a charming and a precious little set of books.

The rarest of all is the first edition of a little pamphlet by Professor York Powell, called "Some words on Allegory in England." So rare is this pamphlet that a second edition of it, forming Opusculum 37, was issued after the death of the author, and the opportunity was taken of including in this reissue some charming reminiscences of York Powell, a table of the chief events in his life, and some general information about the precious little pamphlet which constitutes the *rara avis* which all collectors of Odd Volumes are anxious to acquire.

The original first edition was issued in September, 1895, and less than fifty copies were sent out to the members. It was only a thin square pamphlet of twenty-five pages, in a rough brown paper cover, and it was distributed by the writer with his good wishes. It was not issued according to the inflexible laws which govern Ye Sette of Odd Volumes, it offended against all the canons of Ye Sette with regard to its publications, and was really an efflorescence, and would have become a source of serious trouble to the conscientious bibliographer and collector. The Librarian of Ye Sette, Brother Quaritch, recognising the value of the paper, but shocked at its unorthodox vesture, and unwilling to let it wander away without a label, or anything to mark it as an Opusculum, caused to be printed and issued a little leaflet of four pages, not quite the same size as the original pamphlet, and not on the same paper, with the ordinary and legitimate statement that it was one of the privately printed Opuscula of Ye Sette, and he sent round to each of the Brethren who had received from the author the little pamphlet, two copies of his leaflet of four pages. Some had already destroyed the pamphlet, not realising its interest, and not recognising it as one of the Opuscula. Some had mislaid it, and the result is, that some people have got the pamphlet, and not the leaflet, and some have the leaflet (one copy, or perhaps two), and not

the pamphlet, and as very few of the Brothers who are now on the roll of Ye Sette of Odd Volumes were members when the Brother Ignoramus issued this little book, in September, 1895, the difficulty in obtaining the precious little paper, of which only sixty were printed; is evident. I believe there was one man who had two copies of it. One I have seen. The other, he told me, he believed he has put away so safely that he could not find it! It is the greatest treasure in my set of the books, and my copy happens to be a specially inscribed one.

Another of the rare books is one on "Queen Anne Music" which was issued in 1883. There were only a hundred copies and it is a little pamphlet of forty pages. It very seldom comes into the market, and always fetches a very high price.

The collector who is trying to gather together a set of these privately printed books will be puzzled, when he looks at the list, to find that the numbers jump from 33 to 35, and that there is no No. 34. As a matter of fact, No. 34 is another of the very rare pamphlets, and not one of the original set of Opuscula. It is called, not an Opusculum but an "Obfusculum." It is declared as having been "secretly issued" to the members of the Sette, and is endorsed as "Not fit for publication." It is a little pamphlet of thirty-four pages, dated 1894, of which seventy-one copies only were printed, and it

consists of a very clever, although somewhat sarcastic treatise concerning one of the members of the Sette, who was not able to print his paper for the other members, because of certain unfortunate and unforeseen accidents. Some members of the Sette, putting their heads together, issued in this pamphlet what they pretended was the paper read by the learned member. They invented all kinds of extraordinary foot-notes, and added to this sham paper a series of numerous verses, the work of various members of the Sette, all of them upbraiding the unfortunate person who had not printed for the other members his very interesting paper, and who stated that he was quite unable to do so. This amusing little squib was unofficially issued and circulated amongst the members of the Sette. It is called No. 34, and occupies that place in the series of volumes, but it was unauthorised, and is very difficult to obtain.

The bold man, however, who sets to work to collect the privately printed books of the Sette of Odd Volumes, must not confine his attention to the little series to which I have just alluded, because there are four other sets of books issued by this Sette, all of which he will want to possess. There are first the annual Year-Bokes. The earliest, separately issued, dealt with the eleventh year of the work of the Sette, because the previous years had been carefully described in other volumes which came in amongst the Opuscula,

before it had occurred to the members to issue the Year-Bokes as a separate compilation. The result of this arrangement is that Opusculum No. 3, a very fat little book, tells the story of the History of the society from 1878 to 1883, and Opusculum No. 18, continues the interesting narrative down to 1888. Then in 1889 begins the first of the Year-Bokes, and year by year they went steadily on, until we come to Year-Boke No. XIX. which was produced in 1910, and then there occurs a gap. No. XX. has never been issued. It will come out some day, but when, nobody knows. Again Nos. XXI., XXII. and XXIII. are also still on the stocks; the delinquent Presidents, who were responsible for the missing Year-Bokes, are constantly being upbraided by the other members, and there is yet hope of seeing these missing books issued.

No. XXIV., which dealt with the 34th year of the Society's procedure, has been issued; and three more volumes are in course of compilation—Nos. XXV., XXVI. and XXVII.

These books are not bound in the same way as the Opuscula. They have brown leather backs, with bands of the two colours, blue and red, which constitute the selected colours of the Sette.

Of one of these Year Bokes, No. II., there are two editions, one expurgated and the other, a far rarer volume, unexpurgated and withdrawn from circulation. The first issue was

considered to be libellous. It is, of course, a treasure every collector desires to acquire.

Still, that is not the end. There are four other series. There are a certain number of delightful little papers, rather shorter than those issued in the *Opuscula*, and not quite of such importance, that were issued as *Miscellanies*. There are twenty of them, and some are seldom to be met with. No more will be issued.

Then there is a set of booklets; which it is much more easy to collect, as they are given away at the dinners of the *Sette* to all the guests that are present, and therefore printed in very much larger numbers than any of the privately printed volumes referred to. Of these booklets there are forty-four, the first issued in 1890, the last in 1920. Some of them, to the careless bibliographer, seem to be alike, but there are certain divergencies. Some have a line printed in red where another one has it in black, and there are errors and misprints which have to be attended to by the careful collector. They give a little history of the *Sette*. They detail the list of its publications, and of its members. They give its rules and its regulations, and constitute delightful little memorials of the various occasion upon which they are presented.

Then there is the set of *Extras*, and nobody knows quite how many there are of these. Some are leaflets of only three or four pages. Others, such as the *Order of Initiation*, one of the very

rarest, is a little pamphlet of fifty pages. Others steer in between, for example, the Private and Confidential Report of the Publication Committee, which was issued in 1910, is a little book of twenty-seven pages and is unusually difficult to obtain. Several of them are Vale-dictory Addresses, delivered by Presidents when vacating the Chair of Office, and sometimes these are pamphlets of eight pages, and sometimes larger ones of twenty-two. One of two of the Extras are broadsides. Several are poems. One is the reprint of a tract on electricity and magnetism, which one of the members printed and gave away. Others, again, relate to the bookplates of the members of the Sette, or to excursions made by the Sette, or to exhibitions of books and pamphlets and manuscripts brought together by members of the Sette. There are, perchance, about five-and-thirty of these little, ephemeral leaflets, which constitute the series of Extras, and the patient collector must try to acquire all of them, if he would claim that his collection of the publications of the Sette of Odd Volumes is anything like complete.

Finally, there are what may be termed Oddities, books issued by members in Opusculum form. There are volumes, "In praise of Tobacco," concerning Playing Cards, Book Plates, Samuel Pepys, Sir Thomas Bodley, Limited Editions and others called, "With the Odd Volumes," "An Odd Volume for Smokers,"

“Sèvres China,” “The Yeoman’s Tale,” “An Odd Ditty,” “Quatrains,” and so on, some sixteen wholly unauthorised, but very interesting volumes.

If he is a very enthusiastic collector, the reader will collect the menus of the dinners, and the notices issued to the members. In this he can never attain perfection. Even the great albums of the Sette in its Archives, which are supposed to include a copy of everything printed in connection with the Sette, do not contain all that has been issued, and various members have certain treasures which they guard with all secrecy, for fear they should be called upon to hand over and deliver them up to the Archives of the Society, to make its own set complete. Hence it is that collecting the publications of Ye Sette of Odd Volumes is a never-ending task. One may hope to make the series of Miscellanies, of Opuscula, of Year-Bokes, of Booklets, practically complete. One may get very close to a complete set of the Extras, but when it comes to the menus and the various little documents, perfection is unattainable.

Once again, books do not constitute all that the Society has issued. It has issued to some of its members some charming little illustrations known as Folia, and these are very rare, and difficult to obtain, and then again there are certain works that are called “Opera Minora,” which are dedicated to the Sette, and one which

is known as the "Opus Majus," a large book on Palæography, which the collector must obtain. These he can generally get at with some difficulty, and the power of the purse, but many of the tiny things have perished, and of these he can never hope to make his series perfect.

A prettier little lot of books it would be difficult to imagine, and the sport of Odd Volume hunting may be warmly commended to the collector who wants to start a new hobby. He will find it fascinating and amusing, and he is not likely, as he gathers the little books about him, ever to regret that he started upon the quest.

CHAPTER XI

HOROLOGICAL LITERATURE

ONE of the shelves in my library is entirely filled with books more or less intimately connected with the craft of horology, ranging in period from some of the first literature on the subject down to the very latest catalogues. I suppose that the earliest reference of any importance to the invention of watches is that which was made by Johannes Cocclæus in his commentary on the *Cosmographia* of Pomponius Mela (a copy of which is before me), published in Nuremberg in 1511. The words may be thus very freely translated, "Ingenious things are just now being invented by Peter Hele, as yet a young man. He hath works which even the most learned mathematicians admire, for he fabricates small horologes of iron, fitted with many wheels, which wheresoever they are borne, and without any weight, both show and strike forty hours, whether they be carried in the bosom or in the pocket." The man to whom allusion is made in this interesting statement is more usually known as Peter Henlein, a clever worker in iron, who was born in Nuremberg in 1480, and died there in 1542, and to his memory there

is in his native town a very stately monument, while his bust also appears in the National Valhalla at Regensburg. He certainly was, as far as we know at present, the first person to adopt the long ribbon of steel, coiled very tightly round a central spindle, as the driving force for a portable clock or watch, and he appears to have brought this ingenious idea into use, shortly after 1500. It is not much later than that, when Martin Luther, in writing to Father Frederick Pistorius, the last Abbot of Saint Egidius in Nuremberg, on the 22nd of April, 1527, thanks the Abbot most warmly for his very acceptable present of a watch, and goes on to say, "I feel compelled to become a pupil of our mathematicians, in order to understand this unique time-keeper. Never before have I seen such an object."

We, of course, know that the class of watch invented by Henlein, one of which belonged to Luther, and is referred to in the earlier books on my horological shelf, was not exactly what we should term a pocket watch. More strictly speaking, it was a table clock or watch. It was in a shallow circular case. It stood on a table, and had a hinged lid to it. Nothing made by Henlein himself now remains, at least none of the collectors have ever been able to find a watch that bears his signature. It was at first thought that there was one in existence, and I remember, when in Vienna, being shown in the

house of a great collector, a watch with Henlein's signature, but, as the collector (herself, by the way, an interesting person, and a poet of no mean reputation in Austria, the Baroness Ebner-Eschenbach) was careful to explain to me the signature had since been discovered to be a forgery, and the watch I could myself declare was certainly not of Henlein's period. It was evident that it belonged to a time fifty to seventy years after his. It is of interest, however, to know that there are many very early circular clock-watches in existence, although in several instances, the movements have been so altered and changed that but little of the original metal-work remains. The cases, however, have seldom been interfered with, and one of the most important, I have often examined, because it belongs to a private collector in London, who has some interesting watches in his possession. This is dated 1539, and bears upon it the coat of arms of an English family, the Stanhopes; a long and interesting inscription relating to that family, and two Latin mottoes. This case is probably that of one of the earliest table watches in existence; one of the very first to be received in London, and constitutes a land-mark in the history of English horology.

The majority of my books relating to watch-making are early French volumes of the eighteenth century, because in about 1780 there was quite a considerable literature issued in Paris bearing

upon it, and the subject at that time was receiving considerable attention from mathematicians, and especially from astronomers. Great searching was then taking place for a chronometer which would be reliable in the marine service.

France has always been the home of an important watch-making industry, and this centred round particular districts, notably about Blois, Paris and Lyons; but one of the earliest places in France where watches were made was Autun, and in that town there was a whole series of watchmakers, members of the Cusin family, who were specially interested in the manufacture of portable time-keepers. At the beginning the trade remained in and around Nuremberg, and even when a part of it passed to France, there was still a considerable industry left in Nuremberg, so much so, that in various countries of Europe the early oval watches were always known as "Nuremberg eggs," irrespective of their places of origin. These oval watches came into use in about 1560, and then rapidly there was a demand for other shapes, and watches were made cross-shaped, octagonal, hexagonal, and, later on, circular.

The special demand for the less usual shapes of watches appears to have existed more in France than in Germany, the good taste of the French watchmaker leading him to vary his ideas with regard to shape at his own sweet will, and

to prepare, for his various clients, watches that would please them. It was in France also that the idea of using other materials for watch cases came first into vogue, and the makers of Lyons and Blois, Autun, Angoulême, and Rouen, utilized rock-crystal, agate, and eventually enamel, in the manufacture of their watches, and produced some of the most beautiful objects of which horology can boast. It is probable that the cross-shaped watches were made for the heads of religious orders, abbots or abbesses, whereas those that resembled a scallop shell or were octagonal or circular were probably for lay clients who demanded something original and unusual.

In about 1600 there arose a curious idea of making *memento mori* watches in the shape of skulls, very likely that they should be placed upon a prie-dieu or a domestic altar, or worn in connection with a rosary, or round the neck, because it must be remembered when one finds references to watches in this period there is nothing as to their being carried in the pocket. There were no pocket watches, they were made to stand on the table or the desk, or else to be worn upon a chain or rosary hanging around the neck, or suspended from the waist.

It has been interesting, in going through the Huguenot records, many extracts from which find a place on the shelf to which I have alluded, to notice how much in this country we owe

to these people, who fled from France to England, and brought over with them considerable knowledge and skill in their industry. From the earliest days of watchmaking in England, we have been indebted to persons who were natives of other countries than our own, but in front stand two men who may be undoubtedly claimed as Englishmen, William Anthony, the clockmaker for Henry VIII., and Bartholomew Nusam, who it is clear was a Yorkshireman. Nusam, however, was followed by Nicholas Urseau, evidently a foreigner, and then we come to a long list of makers working in England, whose names reveal their foreign connection. To them again there is one great exception, because Ramsay, who was the clockmaker to James I. and to Henry Prince of Wales, was a Scotsman, and a man of high repute and considerable importance, so much so, that when the Clockmakers' Company was incorporated in 1631, Ramsay became its first master, and from that time we have still in existence a long range of documents belonging to that interesting company which give us names and very often information concerning the early watchmakers of England, their places of business, their career, and the names of those who worked with, and eventually succeeded them. We have every reason in England to be proud of the exponents of this great craft, because even if we did learn the details of it first from Germany,

and eventually from France, we have produced men who have been supreme in their own work, and who have been responsible for many of the chief inventions that have assisted in making the modern watch what it is. Thomas Tompion has been well styled "the father of English watch-making," and was certainly one of the greatest watchmakers of the day; George Graham was responsible for the horizontal cylinder escapement and the deadbeat; and Daniel Quare invented the repeater watch. All these hold high position in the story of the great masters of horology, and it is of interest to note that many of the early watchmakers belonged to the Society of Friends, and that we owe to that Society such men as Graham, Tompion, Quare, Wagstaffe, and East, whose names carry great weight in the catalogues of collectors and in the records of the Clockmakers' Company. I refer to some of these in another chapter.

In exterior decoration, the English watchmakers did not attempt to compete with their French brethren. Most of the early English watches are plain, and severe in their decoration.

A few of the metal cases certainly are exquisitely engraved and chased, and now and again, English watches may be found having enamels inserted in the case, the enamels, as a rule, being French work, but on the other hand, French cases are often of extreme beauty, especially those which belong to the period of

Louis XIII., when the miniature and enamel painters of Blois, Lyons, and Rouen, vied with each other in producing exquisite examples of decoration, and in painting both the exterior and interior of the cases which contain the watch movements with religious and classical scenes, represented with wonderful dexterity.

There is a growing interest in France in the story of the old French clockmakers, and in many districts there have been students working at the archives, concerning the watchmakers of their own especial towns. To study the subject, one has to search the proceedings of some of the lesser known French archæological societies, and find in various articles, dealing with the notable families of the towns, information concerning the various watchmakers and what they did. In other instances, there have been books devoted expressly to the subject, special essays dealing with the watchmakers of a particular place, such as Blois, full of freshly garnered information, obtained from records and archives, all bearing upon the subject in question.

Something of the same sort of work has been done in Scotland from the records of the Hammermen, and in England from the Clockmakers' Company, while inquiring students in Germany and in Poland have been gathering up information concerning the watchmakers of Augsburg, of Breslau, of Warsaw, and

of other places, so as to ascertain, with more or less accuracy, when certain watches were made, and something of the history of the men who made them. Augsburg, especially recalls an interesting investigation, in which I took some part, in order to discover who was responsible for a wonderful watch set in a ring, and eventually, by research in that city, in Antwerp, in Mantua, and in Sweden it was found possible to piece together the story of the manufacture of a watch set in a ring for the Duke of Mantua, made by two watchmakers, one a German and the other a Swede, one of whom was responsible for the beautiful mount, with the little folding triptych which covered the face of the watch, and the other for the finely made movement with all its delicate workmanship. As soon as one begins to study carefully the history of a town with regard to any local craft, one comes upon a mine of information regarding these old craftsmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. They worked so carefully, put so much of themselves into what they achieved, and also their story is so often recorded in the archives of Guilds and Corporations that those who seek diligently and can piece together little detached details can often arrive at quite a long story of the history of some craftsman who quietly working—perhaps in one of the smaller German towns—produced a work of art now the treasure of a great and important collection.

It does not always occur to us, when we use phrases connected with the watch, to enquire from what they are derived, and we are perhaps apt to overlook the fact that we owe the habit of keeping the watch in a pocket to the Puritans in England, whose dislike of display induced them first of all to conceal their timekeeper from the public gaze. Previous to that time, watches had been worn upon chains, sometimes two of them, one hanging on either side of the wearer, but the Puritan put his watch away, and the old German word, "fubbe," meaning small pocket, began to be introduced when the place where the watch was kept was more carefully defined, and from that we have the word "fob," which has now become part of the English language. There were other places where the watch was worn, besides suspended on the chain. I have already referred to one set in a ring, but watches have been also used as buttons to a coat, and the Duc de Richelieu, in 1781, is described wearing watches as fastenings for his coat, and the same idea was adopted by Count Cagliostro, who journeyed from Lyons to Grenoble in an open carriage wearing six watches as buttons to his overcoat. There are also instances on record in which watches have been made in such a small size that one could be worn as a stud. Such a watch is actually to be seen in the Pierpont Morgan collection.

We must not think that Shakespeare, when,

in the well-known passage in "As you Like It," he speaks of Jacques drawing "a Dial from his poke," refers to a pocket watch. That must have been some kind of portable sundial with a compass attached, for most certainly, in his time, no watches such as we understand in the use of the word, were kept in the pocket, but in other places Shakespeare does refer to table watches, and to their striking. References in the mouth of Malvolio in "Twelfth Night," and of Sebastian in "The Tempest" certainly allude to table watches which must have stood on a desk or a prie-dieu, and which struck the hour upon a bell.

There have been many collections of watches in England, and there are interesting examples to be seen in our national museums, but perhaps the best and most important collection now available is that preserved in the Guildhall, belonging to the Clockmakers' Company (of which I am a member), and a very interesting and well-arranged catalogue of that collection is not the least of the treasures on my horological shelf. We have, however, nothing in England to compare in the way of great beauty with the collection of watches that at one time existed in Russia. The Empress Catherine was warmly interested in the work of the English watchmakers of the eighteenth century, and purchased many of their finest examples, commissioning many others, and the watches in

the Hermitage collection were the best examples in existence of the craft of the greatest horologers both of France and England. I have had them all in my hands, and examined them closely. I wonder where they now are ?

CHAPTER XII

OLD QUAKER WATCHMAKERS

IT is a somewhat curious circumstance that the chief eighteenth-century watchmakers in London should have been members of the Society of Friends. Comparatively little has hitherto been known about several of those men whose names are still household words to the craft, and whose signatures on their movements are eagerly accepted by collectors, as guarantees of sound workmanship and of extraordinary excellence even now. It fell to my lot some few years ago to make special searches for information respecting Graham, Tompion, Quare, East and Wagstaffe, who were the most notable amongst them, and as the notes I collected are buried in a privately printed catalogue, it may be worth while here to reprint some of the stories connected with the life and work of these men. East was the earliest, Tompion perhaps the greatest of his day, Graham produced the most beautiful work, Quare was the most eminent inventor, and the person who took the highest position in the society of the day, while Wagstaffe, whose portrait is highly characteristic, was the friend of George Fox, and a very popular man. All of

them are worthy of note, and to those interested in English biography, and fine craftsmanship, and especially to all collectors, I think a few notes concerning them may be of some interest.



THOMAS WAGSTAFFE.

Edward East was watchmaker to Charles II., a clever and important maker, successor in the esteem of the King to David Ramsay.

It is recorded that East resided at one time in Pall Mall, near the Tennis Court, and attended the King when various games were being played

in the Mall, His Majesty often providing one of East's watches as a prize for the competition, and it was spoken of simply as an "East." Later on East seems to have removed to Fleet Street, for Britten records that when Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Herbert, one of the King's attendants, failed in his punctual duties in the morning, His Majesty provided him with a gold alarum watch which was procured from East, the King's clockmaker in Fleet Street.

In the Return of Strangers in Farringdon Without, now preserved in the Record Office, dated 1635, East is recorded as resident in Fleet Street in the Parish of St. Dunstan in the West, employing a Dutchman name Elias Dupree. Lady Fanshawe, says Britten, stated that when she came from France in the autumn of 1641, she lodged in Fleet Street with Mr. East the watchmaker. In 1690 East is referred to as residing at the Sun, outside Temple Bar. In the Morrison collection were two manuscript warrants authorizing the Receiver-General to pay £40 to Mr. East, watchmaker, for a "watch and an alarum of gold, made by him for the late King Charles."

East was one of the ten persons named in the original Charter for the Clockmakers' Company. He was Master in 1645, and again in 1652. Britten says that he was the only treasurer ever appointed to the Company, and the office was created because, in 1647, the renter warden re-

fused to give the usual security for the goods of the Company, and a treasurer had therefore to be appointed, but on the death of Edward East, the office was allowed to lapse. In 1692, his old friend Henry Jones, who was Master of the Company, and who had been East's apprentice, informed the Court that Mr. East desired during his lifetime to make a gift of £100 to the Company, for the benefit of the poor, and Mr. Jones added that he would contribute a similar sum. In the following year Mr. East gave the £100, and the records of the Clockmakers' Company show that it was ordered, "That the Masters and wardens do go to Mr. East and give him hearty thanks for his charity."

I have been fortunate enough to discover the date of his death, which has hitherto been unknown. He died in 1701, in the Parish of All Hallows at the age of eighty-four, and his burial is recorded in the Friends' Register at Devonshire House. It is therefore evident that the old tradition which states that he became a Quaker and died in that fellowship is correct, and East's name must be added to those of Quare, Wagstaffe, Tompion, Graham, Peckover, and others who were more or less intimately associated with the Society of Friends. The only perfect "East," with chain, car and key complete, that I have ever seen is in the Pierpont Morgan collection. It came from the Hilton-Price collection.

Thomas Tompion was one of the greatest of the English watchmakers, and has in fact been called the father of English watchmaking. According to the accounts given concerning him by Britten, and in the Dictionary of National Biography, he was born at Northill, Bedfordshire, in 1638, and when quite a young man, became a clockmaker at Water Lane, Blackfriars, his shop, the Dial and Three Crowns, being at the Fleet Street corner of the Lane, close to where now stand the offices of the *Daily News*. He was the leading clockmaker at the Court of Charles the Second, and a man whose mathematical and philosophical pursuits made him very popular amongst the learned men of his time, both he and his great successor Graham, being gladly received on terms of equality by the members of the Royal Society. He was a member of the Clockmakers' Company in 1671, a Freeman, admitted by redemption in 1674, an Assistant on the Court in 1691, Warden in 1700, and Master in 1704. He is believed to have been unmarried, and he died on 20th November, 1713. So high was his reputation that he was buried in Westminster Abbey, and in the same tomb, later on, his friend Graham was also interred. Tompion's will, dated 21st October, 1713, was proved seven days after his death by George Graham, one of the Executors. By it the clockmaker bequeathed to his nephew his land and property at Northill and £100. To his

niece, who had married a clockmaker named Banger, he gave a life interest in £500, and at her death it was to revert to his niece Elizabeth, the wife of his apprentice and friend Graham. George Graham and his wife were the residuary legatees, and there were another niece and a cousin mentioned in the will.

Tompion is referred to in the records of the Clockmakers' Company as a "great clock-maker," and he was responsible for many inventions in the horological world, his clocks and watches being so exceedingly well made that they have always been regarded as objects worthy of being treasured by the persons who possessed them, and have steadily increased in value. There are three fine examples of his work in the Pierpont Morgan collection. Several of his clocks are still in excellent working order, as, for example, the one which now belongs to Lord Mostyn, one made for William III. at Kensington Palace, the fine one in the Pump Room at Bath, and the two chiming clocks at Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace. The Weatherfield collection is unusually rich in works by Tompion. In addition to being a watchmaker and a clockmaker, he was also responsible for barometers, and there is a fine one at Hampton Court Palace by him. Britten quotes many advertisements relating to watches made by Tompion showing the extent of his business at that time.

The following interesting extract from the Clockmakers' Company refers to the old difficulty arising from the forgery of English names upon foreign watches.

"1703. The Master and Mr. Quare produced letters from Patrick Cadell of Amsterdam, stating that Cabriere, Lambe and others, at Amsterdam had set the names of Tompion, Windmills and Quare on their work, and sold it for English." I am indebted to Mr. Richard W. Goulding, librarian to the Duke of Portland, for the information that the Earl of Portland purchased from Thomas Tompion, in 1691, a watch called a "spring horologe," and the record of this purchase is contained in Lord Portland's account-book for that year.

George Graham was one of the most important English watchmakers. He was born in Cumberland, a member of the Society of Friends, in 1673, on 20th July, probably at a place called Horsegills, in the parish of Kirklington, but the register declares his actual birthplace as Riggs, a little place only two miles from Horsegills, where his mother may have been staying at the time. Graham did not continue in the Society of Friends, and hence their registers, the most detailed and exact of any religious community, are not available for his life. He came up to London in 1688, was apprenticed to some unknown watchmaker in London, but speedily attracted the attention of Tompion, and apparently his

indentures were assigned to the greater man. The records of the Clockmakers' Company do not prove with absolute certainty to whom the apprenticeship was first made, because in one place he is spoken of as apprenticed to Thomas Aske, and in another to Henry Aske, but it is probable that the latter was Graham's master for a time, and then he passed the final part of his apprenticeship with Tompion, or else entered Tompion's employ as soon as his apprenticeship had expired. With the "great clock-maker" he speedily became on friendly terms, and the two men lived together for many years in amity and brotherly affection. Graham married one of Tompion's nieces, was executor to his will, residuary legatee, and successor in his business. He was an expert mechanic and mathematician, became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and contributed to its transactions many interesting papers, mostly of a mathematical, horological, or astronomical character. He was a man who prided himself upon the perfection of his work and was in constant demand by the learned men of the day, who required instruments made with perfection of skill and extreme beauty of mechanism. It was Graham who made for Halley the great quadrant at Greenwich, and for Bradley the transit instrument, and zenith sector which he steadily used. He also supplied the French Academy with the apparatus used for the

measurement of the meridian, and was responsible for the great planetarium made for the Earl of Orrery, which, receiving its designation from Lord Orrery, was the first of a series of instruments which still bear the name of that distinguished nobleman. Graham was a very skilful man, frank and open in his conversation, extremely kind-hearted, full of enthusiasm, and ready to help any one who was in difficulties. He enjoyed excellent health, was most particular about his costume, and had certain marked idiosyncrasies well known to his friends. Amongst them was his great objection to interest on money, and an entire want of confidence in any banking system. He carried this to such an extent that he kept all his cash in a strong box, where notes to a very large amount were found at his death, some of which had been in his possession thirty or forty years. He was a member of the Clockmakers' Company, and a benefactor to the poor of that Company. His death took place on 16th November, 1751, at his house in Fleet Street, and he was buried by night on the 24th of the same month, and in the grave in which his master and friend Tompion had already been interred.

Graham was responsible for the "dead beat" escapement, invented as an improvement upon Clement's anchor escapement, but perhaps his greatest invention was the mercurial pendulum, in which he compensated for the expansion of

the steel by the expansion of the mercury in a jar connected with it, and so preserved constant the vibrating length of the pendulum. His portrait is in the possession of the Clockmakers' Company at the Guildhall, and a long, although somewhat inaccurate, account of him appears in the sixth volume of a work entitled, "The Worthies of Cumberland," by Dr. Lonsdale, 1875, a work now very scarce. There is also a notice of him in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

He first became a member of the Clockmakers' Company on 30th September, 1695, and Assistant on 26th April, 1716, and was Master in 1722. There are various watches by him in the Clockmakers' Company Museum in the Guildhall; one in gold, a particularly fine example of his work, dated 1751, bears the number 37.

His house of business for seventeen years was with Tompion at the Dial and Three Crowns at the corner of Water Lane, Fleet Street, where now stands the *Daily News* office, but in 1720 he removed to the Dial and One Crown on the other side of the way, next door to the Globe and Duke of Marlborough's Head Tavern, and there he died. This site is now covered by the offices of "Sporting Life."

Daniel Quare, a distinguished English watchmaker, was an eminent man of business, and an inventor of more than ordinary genius, who, eventually took up a position in London

Society, and was greatly respected and esteemed by people who moved in the highest social circle of the day. The names of his parents are at present unknown, and it is not quite certain as to where he was born, but according to the "Dictionary of National Biography," and the various investigations made concerning him by Mr. Isaac Sharp, the learned secretary of the Society of Friends, and later on, by the writer, he is believed to have been born in 1648, and was probably a native of Somerset. He was admitted in 1671, on 3rd April, as a brother of the Clockmakers' Company, became an Assistant in the Court on 29th September, 1698, and Master on 29th September, 1708. He married in 1676, Mary Stevens, the daughter of Jeremiah Stevens, a maltster of High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, and the marriage, which is recorded at Devonshire House, describes him as a clock-maker, residing at St. Martin's-le-Grand, in the liberty of Westminster. Shortly afterwards he removed to the parish of St. Anne and St. Agnes, Aldersgate, and there, in 1678, for refusing to pay a rate for the maintenance of the clergy of his parish his goods to the value of £5 were seized to defray the fine of £2 12s. 6d. This was on the warrant of the Mayor of the day, one James Edwards. In the following year, Quare refused to defray the charges of the militia, and two clocks and two watches were taken from him, to the value of £11 5s. A little later on he left

Aldersgate, and settled in Lombard Street, and there he was fined, in 1683, for attending a meeting in White Hart Court, and goods to the value of £145 17s. 6d. were taken from him and from five other persons, his companions. These sums in present currency represent considerable amounts. Two years after that Quare migrated again, and finally settled down at the King's Arms in Exchange Alley, taking up his residence near to various other watchmakers, who were in that same narrow street. On 4th June, 1686, he, with fifty other Friends, was summoned to appear before the Commissioners appointed by James II. to sit at Clifford's Inn to hear their grievances. This interview is reported in a work entitled, "The Christian Progress of that Ancient Servant and Minister of Jesus Christ, George Whitehead, 1725." Whitehead was one of those who were examined, and he obtained the privilege, on behalf of his oppressed brethren, of summoning those who were "Sufferers by the Informers' unjust Persecutions and false Informations" to appear before the Commissioners appointed by the King. It is mentioned in this book that when the day came for hearing, and the informers saw the goodly array of Friends present, they were, says Whitehead, "in a great rage, and some of them cried out, 'Here comes all the Devils in Hell,' and seeing me they said, and 'there come the old Devil of all.'" Every effort was made to stop

this evidence before the Commissioners, Whitehead, before the second interview, with three other persons, one of whom is stated to have been Daniel Quare, was arrested and brought before the Lord Mayor, who detained them for some hours, but eventually released them in order that they might appear at Clifford's Inn. Finally Whitehead had a third interview with the Commissioners, when they showed him their report to the King, and he protested against a part of it, and then he tells us that "they were so honest as they did amend their Report, and made it more seizable and to Purpose." In 1689, Quare was again fined for tithes and Priests' maintenance, and plateworth £3 os. 11½d. was taken from him, but after that we have no further reference to the clockmaker being persecuted, and he seems to have been regarded with great favour by William III. It was at Quare's petition that two Westmorland Friends were released from prison, and Quare on 2nd May, 1695, introduced four Friends, one of whom was the celebrated George Whitehead, to a private interview with the King, the result of which was that the King exerted himself on behalf of the Friends, when an address was brought under the notice of Parliament, in favour of the Affirmation Bill. Quare's signature appears, with those of nineteen other Friends, upon a petition of the House of Commons presented by Edmund Waller on 7th February,

1695-6. He was a trusted member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, and in less than two years between 1700 and 1702, the Meeting paid him £356 on account of Parliamentary expenses disbursed by him. Quare is also frequently mentioned in the books of the Barking Meeting, and two letters addressed by him to that Meeting are still in existence. Evidence of the high esteem to which he had attained in the world of London is given by the attendance at the marriage of his three daughters, and of his son Jeremiah. His daughter Anna married John Falconer, merchant, on 7th June, 1705, at Devonshire House, and the marriage certificate was not only signed by William Penn, George Whitehead, and various important Friends, but by the Venetian Ambassador, the Envoy from Florence, the Son of the Envoy from Hanover, the Portuguese Envoy, the Emperor's Resident, the Swedish Envoy, the Resident of Prussia, the Envoy of Denmark, Henrietta Countess of Strafford, and by many other people. His daughter Sarah was married to Jacob Wyan, mercer at the Bull and Mouth, on 15th March, 1712, and this ceremony was attended not only by Penn, Whitehead, and others but by several "Ambassadors and Envoys." Then a little later in the same year, Quare's son Jeremiah was married. By marriage he is declared as a merchant, and he married one Anna Brain on

6th September. The marriage took place at Devonshire House, and amongst the persons who were present, in addition to Penn and Whitehead, were the Earl of Orrery, the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Bolton, the Venetian Ambassador, the Comte de Briançon, and other distinguished foreigners. It was, however, at the marriage of his third daughter, Elizabeth, in November, 1715, that the greatest evidence of the high position held by Daniel Quare was most clearly set forth, and the original marriage certificate still in existence shows the names of the persons who were present on that occasion. Elizabeth was married on 10th November at the Gracechurch Street Meeting to Silvanus Bevan of Cheapside, citizen and apothecary, son of Silvanus Bevan of Swansea (*sic*), Glamorgan, South Wales, merchant, a member of the family of Bevan, "so long prominently associated," says Mr. Sharp, "with the work and history of Friends, and whose name for upwards of a century has been associated in Lombard Street with that of Barclay." He it was, Mr. Sharp tells us, "who carved the well-known medallion of William Penn, and effigies of many other celebrities of his time." To the wedding several members of the Royal Family were invited, but a letter, happily extant, from the pen of an invited guest, Rebecca Osgood, mentions that the Prince and Princess and most of the quality, who had promised to attend the

ceremony had the night before to inform the bridal party that by reason of an Act of Parliament, which forbade them to go to a Quaker's meeting, they were unable to be present. The Duchess of Marlborough was, however, at the wedding, and various persons of high position connected with the different Embassies. Immediately after the wedding the party went to Skinners' Hall, where, the letter tells us, a very splendid dinner was given, and it was this dinner that the Princess of Wales, with 300 guests of high distinction, again including the Duchess of Marlborough, graced with their presence.

As regard Quare's clockmaking industries, it is interesting to record that he was the inventor of the repeater action, and that it is also claimed that he was the first to adopt and to adapt the concentric minute hand. His invention of the repeater anticipated that of the Rev. Edward Barlow by about ten years, and Barlow's application for a patent was therefore strongly opposed by the Clockmakers' Company.

The following extract from the minute books of the Clockmakers' Company refers to this opposition.

"1688, September 29.—Be it remembered that in Pursuance of the Order of the Court of the 8th day of February, 1687, and according to

the order of the Court of the 5th March, 1687, the patent endeavoured to be obtained, by one, Mr. Edward Barlow, a priest, and to be granted to him by the King's majesty, for his sole making and managing for all pulling repeating pocket clocks and watches, he pretending to be the true and first inventor of that art and invention, was by diligence and endeavour of the Master, Wardens, and assistants of this Company, with great charge and expense, which was borne by and out of the stock of the Company, very successfully prevented, and upon the 2nd of March, 1687, ordered by the King in Council not to be granted."

Another extract relates to the old difficulty arising from the forgery of English names upon foreign watches.

"1703.—the Master and Mr. Quare produced letters from Patrick Cadell of Amsterdam, stating that Cabrier Lambe, and others, at Amsterdam, had set the names of Tompion, Windmills and Quare on their work, and sold it for English."

Quare made a repeating watch, and also a very fine clock for William III. The clock goes for a year without rewinding and being made for a bedroom does not strike. It still stands in its original position by the side of the

King's bed in Hampton Court Palace, and shows sun dial time, the phases of the moon, and the course of the sun. It was altered in 1826 by Vulliamy, and is still going. Another Quare's clock, with a double pendulum, is to be seen in the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, and one of his very finest tall case clocks is in the possession of Mr. C. F. Bell, of Oxford. Furthermore, Quare was the inventor of a portable barometer, which, according to the words of his patent, "might be removed and carried to any place, though turned upside down." One of these barometers is in the United Service Institution and another belongs to Mr. C. F. Bell. An ordinary barometer by Quare is to be seen at Hampton Court. Of his clocks, three are in the Wetherfield collection, others belong to Mr. Abbott, Mr. Cook and other collectors. Clock-watches by him belonged to Mr. Britten and Mr. Robert Meldrum, and there is a lantern clock made by him in the British Museum. Other clocks for which he was responsible are at Windsor Castle and in the possession of Mr. Arkwright of Hampton Court, near Leominster.

Two of Quare's apprentices, Daniel and Thomas Grignon, started in business for themselves after the death of Quare, and there are both clocks and watches signed by them belonging to a period of about 1730. One of these clocks is in the possession of the writer. In some

instances the clocks and watches are signed "Daniel and Thomas Grignion from the late Mr. Quare." In others the word "finishers" appears attached to the names of the Grignion brothers. Their house of business was at the King's Arms and the Dial at Russell Street, Convent [*sic*] Garden, and the firm became Grignion and Son of the same address in 1775, Thomas Grignion in 1780, and, again, another Thomas Grignion, perhaps a son of the last, who was working between 1800 and 1825.

Towards the end of his life, Quare was appointed clockmaker to George I., but at first he had to decline this position, because he objected to taking the oath of allegiance, and therefore could not qualify for the position, which carried with it a stipend of £300 per year. His long statement concerning his refusal to accept the post is still in existence. In it he explained that the religious difficulty was eventually overcome; he was not obliged to take the oath, his scruples were respected, and he was permitted to pass into the palace by the back stairs, the Yeoman of the Guard being ordered to pass him in without calling upon any person for leave. Quare cordially acknowledged the courtesy of Lord Carteret, who had had the matter in hand, and the consideration with which the King had treated him, and in the document from which the quotation is made refers to the help that he received from the Divine Provi-

dence, in making his petition, and the way in which God had assisted him, throughout the whole of his career.

His successor in the business, Steven Horseman, had been apprenticed to him, to 1702, and was admitted to the Clockmakers' Company in 1709.

Of Quare's family, the first seven children died in infancy.

Daniel Quare died on the 21st March, 1724³/₄, at his country house at Croydon, and was buried in Bunhill Fields on the 27th of the same month. His age was seventy-five. The *Daily Post* of Thursday the 26th March, thus refers to his decease: "Last week dy'd Mr. Daniel Quare, watchmaker in Exchange Alley, who was famous both here and at foreign Courts for the great improvements he made in that art, and we hear he is succeeded in his shop and trade by his partner Mr. Horseman."

His son Jeremiah was his executor. His will was made on 3rd May, 1723, and proved on 26th March, 1724. From his personal estate he left his wife Mary Quare, £2,800, all his household goods, both in London and in the country, and the "two gold watches she usually wears, one of them being a repeater, and the other a plain watch." He also left to the four children of his late daughter Anna Falconer £1,600, and to the two children of his son Jeremiah £800, and declared in his will that "he did already fully

advance" his late daughter Anna Falconer and his son Jeremiah on the occasion of their respective marriages. His widow lived with her son Jeremiah until her death on 4th November, 1728, at the age of seventy-seven. She died in the parish of St. Dionis Backchurch, Lime Street, and was buried in Bunhill Fields. Her son Jeremiah died in less than a year after his mother on 25th August, 1729, of fever, at the age of forty-five, and he was buried in School House Lane.

I am indebted to Mr. C. F. Bell, of the Ashmolean Museum, already mentioned, for the following interesting references to Quare :—

Gay, in one of his eclogues called "The Espousal," a dialogue between two Quakers, has the following lines :

I own Josiah gave the golden toy,
Which did the virtuous hand of Quare employ.

Swift possessed a watch by Quare, which he mentions in his will, 3rd March, 1740, as "my plain gold watch, made by Quare," and bequeaths it to a Mrs. Mary Swift, alias Harrison.

Hogarth, in his autobiography, says, "A watchmaker may say, 'The watch which I have made for you is as good as Quare or Tompion, or any other man could have made,' etc. Carlo Goldini, in a comedy entitled "La Bottega del

Caffe," 1750, makes one of his characters, Don Marzio, when playfully accused of having been imposed upon in the purchase of a watch, protest that he had it sent from London, and that it is "Uno dei piu perfetti che abbia fatto il Quare."

From the same source I learn of the existence of many of Quare's watches, clocks, and barometers, though scattered in places as widely separated as Petrograd and Budapest.

I am indebted to Mr. Richard W. Goulding, the learned librarian to the Duke of Portland, for the following interesting extracts concerning Quare, which he found in the Earl of Portland's account books for 1691 and 1692, and which he has kindly permitted me to publish.

Account Book of William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, under heading "Uijtgate Kleedije Linden en Anders in Engels Gelt. (Expenses clothing linen, etc., in English money.)

1691, den 2 Jan. :

Ain Daniel Quare, Horologe-Macker, over Leverantie van een Gouden Horologe dat de Uijren Repeteert, volgens Recipisse, betallt. (To Daniel Quare, watchmaker, for the supply of a gold repeater watch according to the receipt paid.) £64 10s.

Under heading :

"Uijtgate Acu Alderhande Reckeningen uijt de privy purse van syne Maj^t in den Jaere, 1692, betallt in Engels gelt." (Expenses on various

accounts, from the privy purse of his Majesty in the year 1692, paid in English money.)

23rd May :

Aen Daniel Quare, Horologe-Macker, voor een Goude, Repeating Wat(c)h voor Syne Majt, op Ordre ende by recepisse. (To Daniel Quare, watchmaker, for a gold repeater watch for his Majesty to order and according to receipt.)
£69 17s. 6d.

There is a curious letter amongst the papers at Devonshire House, written from Kendal by Mary Wass, who appears, from the way in which she writes, to have been a niece, or a great-niece of Daniel Quare, but whose relationship it is not easy to determine. The letter contains an interesting reference to clocks made by her uncle, and is therefore worthy of being quoted. It reads as follows :—

“Dr. Uncle thy most ingaging lines came to hand in due time, but my last hinted something off father’s receiveing a hurt of his eye, defer’d writeing ye longer in hopes to give yye more perfect Acct of ye recovery, for since I writ to thee, it was as if ye sight would be lost and father was much deject’d and brought to a very low estate of health what with ye pain of ye eye and trouble of mind, but now am thankfull I can say its much better and ye pain is abated, but there is yet a humour with something of a spec yt grows near ye sight wch occations dimness, but

it is now so well to wt it has been yt father is in full hope it may not hinder his journey to London at Yearly Meeting and I am also very desirous to come along with him . . . as thy cordial lines, dr Uncle had some good efect on me, being attend'd with ye sweetness, and good advice yt like epistles where writ upon my heart, wch I esteem as a perticular favour, neither am I unmindfull I owe gratefull acknowledgments that thou art pleased to rembr me with so good a present, which I must acknowledge would have been very acceptable unto me, if my lot had been cast att or near Lond; for I know thy Clocks are of great value, and perhaps wld. looke too great amongst ye Common People of this place, beside ye difficulty of Carriage so many miles without harm, moreover wee have a Clock pretty siuteing to our Country and station, so yt under all those conciderations am reddy to conclude something of less charge to thee might answer as well for my servis and be let alone till I see thee."

This is unsigned and undated, and copied on the back of a letter, in the same handwriting, signed Mary Wass, Kendall, 4-8th ins, 1718."

Several clocks and watches by Quare are illustrated in Britten's "Old Clocks and Watches," third edition, London, 1911, and the volume contains a long account of the clockmaker. It

also quotes four advertisements of the loss of Quare's watches, which are interesting as evidence of the value which was attached to them in his time.

Thomas Wagstaffe was born at Banbury in Oxfordshire in 1724, his mother being Sarah French, while her mother was the eldest daughter of Giles and Maud Tydmarsch. Of these people we have the following information. Giles Tydmarsch was a prisoner in Oxford Castle, on an excommunication for not attending the parish church, and he was kept in prison for seven years and then released in 1672, with about four hundred more prisoners, by letters patent of King Charles II., issued in that year. After his release, Giles and his wife, with their son and daughter (the daughter afterwards becoming Mrs. French) settled at Chipping Norton, and he took up the occupation of a shoemaker. Both he and his wife lived to be ninety years of age, the wife surviving the husband by only one day, and they were buried in one grave at Milton. They had four children, one, Giles, married Hirom Maud, of Barton in Oxfordshire, who brought him £70 as her dowry. He lived in a cottage in the Nether Row in Chipping Norton. One of the daughters, Sarah, as already mentioned, married Joseph French. Her daughter was the wife of Thomas Wagstaffe, of Banbury, and they had at least four children. The eldest son removed with his family to Philadelphia, and

there are descendants of that branch of the family still residing in the United States. Another daughter, said also to have been called Sarah, married Joseph Lownds. A son, John, resided in Norfolk, and another son, Thomas, was the watchmaker to whom I refer.

According to an account of him, which appears in the tenth section of a book called "Piety Promoted," a collection of brief memorials of members of the Society of Friends compiled at different dates, Thomas Wagstaffe passed the chief part of his life in London, where he carried on his trade. In the decline of his days he retired to Stockwell, in Surrey, where he gave some attention to literary work, and was the author of at least three books. One was issued in 1774, and contained about fifteen sheets, giving accounts of sixty-six deceased Friends. He prefixed to these accounts a brief preface, and added a short concluding address to the reader. In 1796 he was the author of another book, slightly larger, containing about seventeen small octavo sheets, and sixty-six narratives, with a preface. He had always been particularly addicted to making inquiries into the doings of ancient times, so far as they related to Friends, and he had a memory well stored with anecdotes. Another of the books which he prepared for the members of the Society was issued in 1776, and was the account of the Life and Gospel Labours of William Beckett, of Wainfleet, Lancashire.

When quite an old man, Wagstaffe left Stockwell for Chipping Norton, where he had various relatives, and there he died in 1802. His place of business in London was 33, Gracechurch Street, and he is known to have resided there between 1769 and 1794. Britten states that members of the Society of Friends when visiting London were accustomed to lodge at Wagstaffe's house, and on their return to America frequently took one of his clocks with them.

George Fisher Fox London 29th 11th 1777
 Bought of The Wagstaffe
 a Gold Watch named The Wagstaffe
 London Case of Jewels No 5946
 Case richly engraved and a
 Spanish Cover with Tortoise
 shell Combs - 227 5/- £28 5.0
 The Watch returned named
 Wagstaffe No 519 ——— 8.8.0 8.8.0
 19.19.0
 Received the contents in full
 of James Phillips The Wagstaffe

He adds that there are many long case clocks by Wagstaffe in America, generally in the possession of Quakers or their descendants. He also refers to an interesting mahogany case clock by him in the Cathedral of Kazan in Petrograd.

The birth registers of the Society of Friends do not give any entry of the birth of Thomas Wagstaffe himself, but many dates are there recorded concerning various members of the family.

I am able to publish, by the kindness of Mr. Norman Penny of the Friends' Reference Library, a hitherto unknown silhouette portrait of this old watchmaker, and also one of his bills concerning a gold watch supplied to George Fox and to the credit of the account of one of his own watches taken back in exchange.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS CLUB AND THE GROLIER CLUB

THE Burlington Fine Arts Club in London and the Grolier Club in New York are associations with somewhat similar aims, and each has been instrumental in the production of fine and important books.

I am proud of my membership of each Club, and of the fact that it has extended over a long period of years, and look with some special interest upon the two shelves in my Library devoted to the Club literature.

The Grolier is more especially the Bookman's Club. Its members are interested in books, however, not so much as literature but as works of art. The constitution of the Club declares that "its object shall be the literary study and promotion of the arts pertaining to the production of books."

Its members are true bibliophiles, loving books for their intrinsic beauty, whether of illustration, type, binding or print. Fittingly is the Club named from the great French book-lover, Jean Grolier de Servier, Treasurer General of France in the sixteenth century.

The Club has only been in existence since 1884, but year by year since then it has held Exhibitions of books and book illustrations, and has issued privately printed works of sumptuous character. Its custom is to print in special form, on the finest of paper, and with all the adjuncts that go to make up a volume perfect from the book lover's point of view, some rare treatise or some fine modern bibliography or work on art, to issue it at a special price to its members only; and to print two extra special copies usually on vellum, one of which is kept by the Club, and the other sold by auction to the members.

Its first work was a reprint of the very rare first edition of Barker's Decree of the Star Chamber, concerning Printing (1637), only 148 copies of the work being issued to members. So scarce has this now become that a copy cannot be obtained under about £30, although it only cost the members, when first issued, the sum of two dollars.

One of its most sumptuous productions was the standard work on Grolier himself, a translation of Le Roux De Lincy's essay, with an added catalogue of all the books then known to have belonged to Grolier's Library, and a great deal of important supplementary information. This was issued in 1907, it has fourteen fine facsimile plates in colour and cost the members forty dollars a copy, but

it has gone up enormously in value since the original issue.

The finest of all the books issued by this club, a somewhat different character, as instead of printing one volume, it came out in three great portfolios. It comprised over 1,000 photographic reproductions of all the known Etchings and Dry Points of Whistler, in exact facsimile and in the size of the originals, and it was issued to the Club members at a hundred dollars for the set. It is now impossible to obtain.

In addition to such sumptuous works as these, the Grolier Club has issued works of lesser intrinsic value, but in every case finely printed and illustrated. Such, for example, are the *Histories of the Plantin Press* (1888), and of the *Chiswick Press* (1896), the *Note Books of Carlyle* (1898), *Boccaccio's Life of Dante* (1900), *Milton's Areopagitica* (1890), *Donne's Poems* (1895), a work on *Title Pages* by De Vinne (1901), and a *Booke of Kings* (on Jap vellum) by H. C. Levis (1913).

Furthermore there is a delightful series of specially printed Catalogues of exhibitions held at the Club House, such as those *Illuminated Manuscripts* (1892), *Books by Early English Writers* (1893), *Books from the libraries of noted Bibliophiles* (1895), *Lithographs* (1876), *Engravings of Dürer* (1897), *Italian Books* (1904), and so on.

These and many others which succeeded them, and all of which are detailed in the Club Bibliography are books which the members purchase from time to time, but in addition there is a charming series of books which come gratuitously and are no less important as regards typography and style.

There are the catalogues of all the Exhibitions, each differing from the other, but all in 16mo size and with biographical and bibliographical information of much importance, and there are also the Annual Transactions, graceful little volumes, charmingly printed on hand-made paper, ranging with them. Some of these Transactions volumes and many of the Catalogues are again issued to members for purchase in Demy 4to ($7 \times 9\frac{3}{4}$), on better paper and with illustrations, so that those who prefer can, in addition to the volume sent gratuitously, have it also in sumptuous and augmented form.

Finally there are the Notices of Meetings, the Cards of Invitation and Admission, and the Circulars Respecting the Books, Menus and Bibliographical scraps of which no member can have a complete set, but all are delightful and everyone worthy of being retained in a portfolio or scrap book. They are all models of good taste in the arts of printing and illustration, and the world has never seen anything better. They are cherished by all good Grolierites; and though I have most of the catalogues, almost

all the Year Books and many of the books—I wish that I had them all—for they are a constant source of delight to every man who is a real lover of fine printing.

Perhaps I ought to have laid some stress, as a bibliophile, upon the edition brought out by the Club in 1889 in three splendid volumes of the *Philobiblon* of Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham. It is indeed a reverent reproduction and could scarcely be surpassed, an absolute delight to eye, hand and mind. If the Club had done nothing more than the production of this masterpiece it would have justified its existence.

The Burlington Fine Arts Club is an older and more solemn association.

Its aim is the study of Arts in all its varied forms, not confined by any means to books or book illustrations.

It was founded in 1857, a little group of ninety-seven members, shortly afterwards raised to 200, and it has always embraced the chief collectors of the day and the experts on every branch of art and art craftsmanship.

Its exhibitions have become famous, and have included many of the greatest treasures of the world in their purview. Its little gallery, open only to the public by members' orders, has received visits from almost every person of importance in Europe, and the most noted collectors all over the world have vied with

one another in lending to the Club from time to time their most cherished and rarest possessions.

Its exhibitions began first in Pall Mall, and then more formally in Piccadilly, where they continued down to 1870, when the present Club House was obtained in Savile Row, and the Gallery that has been the scene of so many delightful gatherings was built.

The catalogues have always been in 4to size, and I possess the entire series from 1868 downwards.

They vary in substance and in contents, and they deal with objects so different as Old Master Drawings, Bronzes, Ivories, Porcelains, Book-bindings, Miniatures, Enamels, Pictures, Iron Work, Water Colours, Etching, Sculpture, Silver, Illuminated Manuscripts, Seals, Mezzotints, Embroidery, and so forth.

In intention each is the same, to bring together the choicest possible collection of objects relative to the special period or branch of craftsmanship under consideration, to catalogue them with absolute fidelity and with all possible wealth of historic allusion, and to present, in the form of a preface, a treatise upon the period of groups of objects written by the chief expert, or group of experts, of the day.

On the whole, the intention of the Club has been carried out in superb manner, for each catalogue represents the last word and the best

opinion obtainable on the special matter with which it is concerned.

The catalogues are issued gratis to the members, but in addition to these blue-paper-covered compilations, splendidly printed on hand-made paper, there are issued to members, at prices of from five guineas downwards, sumptuous editions in folio size of the same catalogues, richly illustrated with plates in colour facsimile, in half-tone, and in photogravure.

These form valuable works of reference, and in fact such catalogues as those on Greek Art (1888 and 1893), Portrait Miniatures (1889), Bookbindings (1891), Enamels (1897), Silver-work (1901), Early German Art (1906), Early English Portraiture (1909), English Embroideries (1905), have at once been accepted as the Standard works in their respective subjects.

Here again there are Circulars, Invitations, Subscription Forms, and the like, to be collected and preserved, not specially objects of artistic excellence as are those of the Grolier Club; but all examples of the choicest printing that can be done in this country, and possessing a grave serious aspect peculiarly their own.

I have spoken of neither Club House, my purpose being more concerning the books issued by each Club; but the Club Houses, as those who know them can tell, are cosy and comfortable homes, the libraries in each club of more than

usual importance and the adjuncts to Club life convenient in every way.

The Burlington Fine Arts Club has perhaps the best Library of Art books, English and foreign, in London, the Grolier Club a very choice collection of books notable for typography or binding, as well as those collected for literary value, and, moreover, a cabinet containing a unique group of miniature books, many score in number.

Each Library has printed in graceful form the Catalogue of what it possesses—the Grolier Club, as might be expected, in sumptuous fashion; the Burlington, in style more restrained.

Each has infinite attractions to the Lover of Books, and to the Collector of Objects connected with the Fine Arts.

CHAPTER XIV

SOME AMERICAN BOOK CLUBS

OF the many Book Clubs in America specially concerned with the printing and production of privately issued volumes, the most notable in many ways is undoubtedly the Bibliophile Society of Boston. It has a unique record in the fact that for at least eleven years it was successfully conducted without any dues—its books, having been subscribed for (allowing only one copy for each member) by 96 per cent. of its full membership. It has a working fund of twenty thousand dollars, the voluntary contribution of its members, and belonging to them individually. Further, it has no salaried officials, and its small incidental expenses are charged, each year, into publication account. Its books are beautiful, and have a special feature of their own, inasmuch as their title pages are, as a rule, printed from specially designed copper plates engraved in the finest manner, and as also in many instances the books are issued full bound in brown polished morocco. More delightful volumes than their reproductions of the *Deserted Village* and *Gray's Elegy*, printed on vellum and exquisitely illus-

trated, can hardly be conceived, while Swinburne's Ode to Mazzini and Border Ballads were produced in equally sumptuous style, and sent out in double slip cases for their better preservation. One of the rarer productions of this Private Press is the transcript of the speech Charles Dickens made at Gore House in 1851. Ten copies only were printed on vellum, and another still more interesting production is a facsimile in sheets, on blue paper, of the essay Swinburne wrote on Whistler, which caused the estrangement between the two men lasting down to Whistler's death. This is reproduced so perfectly that it is not easy at first to believe that the sheets are not those bearing Swinburne's own handwriting, and, in a suitable portfolio, it forms a wonderful treasure for all admirers of the painter and the poet. It stands on my shelves side by side with a book of considerable rarity containing Whistler's own corrections, and with many of his rarer catalogues and some of his autograph letters.

The Year Books of this same Society are equally good examples of fine book making. I possess Vols. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12. They are all in cases, and have the finest modern copper-plate engraved titles that I have ever seen or handled, admirable scroll work set within a suitable frame, and containing little vignettes inserted, many of which are of exquisite beauty. The Shelley and Dickens and Wash-

ington Irving and André books are interesting especially for the sake of their fine title pages, which are admirably printed on vellum.

Another club which deserves special mention is the Caxton Club of Chicago. Its Year Books and four of its finest volumes are before me as I write. Three are on Bookbinding, those on Thomas Berthelet, Henry VIII.'s Bookbinder, issued in 1901; on Samuel Mearne, Binder to Charles II., issued in 1906; both written by Mr. Cyril Davenport, and that on French Bookbinders of the eighteenth century by Octave Uzanne, translated by Mabel McIlvaine, and sent out in 1904. These are quarto books, admirably illustrated by full page plates in photogravure and in colour facsimile. Even more notable, however, is the volume for which the members subscribed in 1905, that on William Caxton, written by the best authority on the great printer, Gordon Duff. This volume was issued to the members at 25 dollars a copy, 148 only, and each copy contains in an envelope in the binding an actual leaf printed by Caxton himself! The Club bought, at the sale of Lord Ashburnham's books, an imperfect copy of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales printed in about 1478; and this book, which Lord Ashburnham had purchased at the Heber sale, was cut up by the Club, and one leaf of it inserted in each of these 148 copies. In consequence the volume has a special attraction to all book lovers,

and has become a rare and valuable work. Other volumes and the Catalogues of its Exhibitions and its Annual Year Books are worthy of note, and everything produced by the Caxton Club shows excellent craftsmanship.

In glancing at these American Book Clubs, The Club of Odd Volumes at Boston deserves particular mention. Its prototype was Ye Sette of Odd Volumes, to which allusion has already been made; and at first, when it was founded, it assumed the same title, but there was a protest on behalf of the mother society, made by Mr. Clulow, who was then the President of Ye Sette, and in 1887, the name of The Club of Odd Volumes was finally adopted. The Society was incorporated in 1890, and at first held its meetings in various hotels, or in the library of the Boston Art Club, but eventually it was enabled to build its own club house in Mount Vernon Street, and there it possesses a delightful home. This Club House was enlarged in 1916, so as to provide a large meeting-room, and ample space for exhibitions, and the building takes the form of the reproduction of an old Colonial Inn.

In the exhibition room there have been some very important shows. That in 1897 referred to Early New England History; in 1898 to Bookplates; and later exhibitions have been of objects relative to the history of Boston; of matters relating to Izaak Walton and *The*

Compleat Angler; to mezzotints; to the history of the Boston Stage; to Angling Bookplates, and to exhibits relating to Thackeray.

The Club has always been fortunate in possessing amongst its members several of the great printers of the day, not only those resident in America, but as honorary members, such men as Ashbee, Cobden, Sanderson and others, who represent the craft at its best in England. In consequence, its publications have a special value and importance. The first issued by the club was the catalogue of the J. B. Gough Collection, the works of George Cruikshank. This came out in 1890. It was followed in 1892 by a work on mezzotints, and by a catalogue of an exhibition of portraits of the Women of the Court of Louis XV. A somewhat similar volume came out in 1893, and this was followed by five volumes of Early American Poetry. Then came a book on Early Boston Booksellers, which was published in 1900, and in the same year, a delightful paper on Chaucer. In 1901, the publication was "A Talk on Bookplates"; in 1902, a work on "The Triumphs of Early Printing"; in 1903, a reprint of a scarce book on New England; in 1904, a volume entitled "Early Schools and School-books of New England," and in 1905 a volume on Remick, an early Boston Engraver.

Then there came a change with regard to the volumes issued by the Club. Hitherto, they had

been printed by the University Press, Cambridge, but the volume issued in 1906 was the work of the Merrymount Press, Boston; and was differently bound to the preceding volumes. It was called "The Historie Of and the Life and Death of Sir William Kirkcaldy." In the following year, the Club went back to its old printers, and issued a work in two volumes on The Early Massachusetts Press. Then it went to the Riverside Press, with a delightful work on Horace Walpole as a printer, written by its excellent secretary, Mr. Percival Merritt. The books issued in 1908 were called "Collectors" (an address by Mr. Hunnewell and the Library of Rameses the Great, by Mr. Nicholls); but those in 1909 made a still more startling change with regard to printing, as both the books were produced in England, one called "William Caxton," was printed at the Doves Press, the other called "The Private Press," was printed at the Essex House Press by Mr. Ashbee. This list does not include all the books that the Club has issued, although it names the chief ones; but I must not forget to mention "Notes from a Country Library"; "A Reprint of Tristram Shandy's Political Romance, 1759"; a monograph on Isaiah Thomas, the printer, and two volumes, entitled "The Boston Book Market," and "The Isle of Pines." The notices for the meetings, the cards of invitation, and the menus of the various dinners, are also all

of them interesting examples of fine and skilful printing, worthy of notice.

The Club is a very hospitable one. It has its regular Club dinners, and its Thursday afternoon tea-parties. It welcomes most heartily visitors from the Old Country, especially those who are connected with similar societies in England, and to the members of Ye Sette of Odd Volumes it offers a particularly cordial reception. I have the pleasantest possible remembrance of the way in which I was received at the Club some years ago, and I was glad to become a member of it. Other members of Ye Sette have also been similarly received; but it has seldom fallen to the good fortune of the English Society to be able to entertain the members of the Boston Club. Very few of them appear to have come over to England, but they will be assured, whenever they do come, of an exceedingly hospitable reception.

In conclusion, I must not more than briefly refer to the Book Club of California and its charming volume on Bret Harte, and to the Brothers of the Book at Chicago, and all their dainty productions. Suffice it that the Book Clubs of America are numerous, manifold in their endeavour, and varied in their membership; but to the collector of fine books their privately printed volumes are a great joy, and eagerly to be desired in every way.

CHAPTER XV

THE LAST OF THE OLD FRENCH COURT CALENDARS

ONE of the tiniest little books that I possess is a copy of the calendar of the French Court, issued in 1789, probably the last issue of the Royal calendars; for in the July of that very year, the French Revolution commenced, with the taking of the Bastille. The volume is in size 24mo, in its contemporary binding of full French morocco, with the blank leaves for every day of the year, and with its bright blue silken marker. It is in perfect order, and is an interesting little relic of those days. It may be amusing to glance through some of its pages. There is of course in the forefront of it the almanac, which gives the phases of the moon, and all the saints' days, the movable and fixed feasts, and some remarks respecting historical events, eclipses, and the signs of the Zodiac, and then opposite to each page are the blank leaves on which accounts can be kept, respectively headed "Perte" and "Gain." Following this come printed pages full of information, dealing with the Kingdom of France, and with all the various officials of the Royal House.

There is a description of the country, with its boundaries, a reference to its Parliament, its Chambers of Commerce, and its various courts, chronologies of the kings of France, divided out into the three great groups, Merovingians, to 754, Carlovingians, to 987, and the third race, the House of Capet, which is taken in this list from 996, down to the then King Louis XVI., reigning in 1789. Then we come to the various officials of the different sections of the Royal State. First of all, the House of the King, with the lists of names of the almoners and the chaplains, the persons who were responsible for the music, the Master of the Household (then the Prince de Condé), and of the officials who were under him, the Finance Department, under a Minister of State (then M. Necker), the Gentlemen-in-waiting, the Royal Chamberlain (the Duc de Bouillon), the various officials under him, the Robes Department under the Duc de Liancourt, the Master of Ceremonies with his officials, the department for looking after the lodgings of the Court, and their suites, under the Grand Marshal of the Chambers, the Library Department—a very small one—the Medical and Surgical Department—a far larger one; and then a very long list of officials connected with the stables, and one longer still connected with the military establishment.

Following that, we come to the Household of Queen Marie Antoinette, with her Grand

Almoners, and chaplains, her chief Lady-in-waiting, the Princess de Chimay, and many ladies under her, the greatest names in France, her stable department, her robe department, her physicians, and apothecaries, her librarian, M. Moreau, the Controller-General for the Gardens, her three readers, the Abbé de Vermond and his two lady assistants, her legal department, and then the officials who were responsible for the education of the Dauphin and the Children of France, the first being under the care of the Duc d'Harcourt, the second under that of the Duchesse de Polignac. Similar long lists of officials belonging to the Maison de Monsieur, the Maison de Madame, and the Maison de Monsieur le Comte d'Artois and the Comtesse, follow the King and Queen and then we come to the separate establishments of the Princesses, Madame Elizabeth, Madame Adelaide, and Madame Victoire, each of whom have their almoner, their confessor, Mistress of the Robes, a long list of ladies-in-waiting, gentlemen-in-waiting, secretaries, and officials connected with the stable, medicine and surgery.

Beyond those we come to the group who were connected with the education of their Royal Highnesses, the Duc d'Angoulême and the Duc de Berry, and then we have the various officials of the Royal Courts, and of the different branches of the Ministry, dealing with finance, law, societies, etc. Another list gives us the dates of

the births of all the Royal Family, and then continues on through Europe with the same kind of information, telling us that Charles II. was reigning over Spain; that Francis IV. was the King of the Two Sicilies; that Marie Françoise Elizabeth was Queen of Portugal; Pius VI., Pope; Pierre, Grand Duke of Tuscany; Ferdinand, Duke of Parma; Hercules, Duke of Modena; narrating some information respecting the Grand Master of the Order of Malta, and then proceeding to speak of Victor Amadeus III., who was Duke of Savoy, Joseph II., who ruled over Austria-Hungary and Bohemia, and giving a list of the Great Electors of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Bavaria, Saxony, Brandenburg and Hanover. A separate group is made of the sovereign Princes of the Empire, headed by the Count Palatine, and followed by the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Hildeburghausen, Saxe-Coburg, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Wurtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Rhinefels, Liechtenstein, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Homburg, Baden, Holstein-Sonderburg, Holstein-Beck, Holstein-Oldenburg, the Saxe-Anhalts, and the various houses of Nassau. Then we come to the Elector of Prussia, Frederick William II., the King of England, George III., Christian VII., reigning over Denmark, Gustav III. over Sweden, Stanislaus over Poland, Catherine II., Empress of Russia, Abdul Hamet,

Sultan of Turkey, and finally, the heads of the Republics of Venice, of the United Provinces and of Genoa.

Following these, comes some further information respecting previous monarchs of several of these countries, and then a long list of the Knights of the various Orders in France, the Ordres du Roi, the Order of the Saint Esprit, the Order of the Toison d'Or, and the Order of Saint Louis, and details concerning the Church, the Pope, the various Cardinals, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Dioceses of France.

Finally, we come to the less important officials of the Royal House, the ushers, the valets, barbers, clock winders and mechanics, and also those who were responsible for the tapestry, and the personal servants of the King, who had to wait upon him at different times.

Amongst the Royal palaces over which they had control, we find one name of ill omen, the Bastille, mentioned as one of the residences of the King, with its Governor, and various officials.

The little book throws an interesting light on the life in the Royal Court of France at that time, and the crowds of persons who held offices of more or less importance about the Royal Family, and were provided with posts from which they drew considerable revenues, regardless of the fact that they stood upon the very brink of a volcano, which, within a few months of the

issue of this tiny little book, was to burst out and overwhelm in its destructive fury almost all the persons whose names appear in it. The volume is crowded with the great and historic families of France which were famous before the days of the Revolution, and many of which disappeared altogether from the history of that country at the time of this startling change in the whole affair of the French people.

CHAPTER XVI

SWINBURNE

It is rather strange that, although I knew Swinburne's mother and sisters so very well, I saw comparatively little of the poet himself, and yet after all, it is not so very curious, as he was but seldom at home, and had his own establishment when I knew them.

I have, however, on my shelves all of his books, and in one of them is fastened a letter from him that has a rather interesting history.

The book is "The Heptalogia, or the Seven against Sense, a Cap with Seven Bells," which was published anonymously in 1880. It is, as is well known, a book of Parodies, in which poems by Tennyson, Coventry Patmore, Browning, Mrs. Browning, Lord Lytton and Swinburne are most cleverly parodied. It created some sensation, but was speedily recognised as from Swinburne's hand, and the parody of his own peculiarities of style in the final poem *Nephelidia* is exceedingly fine. For a long time, however, the poet refused to acknowledge the authorship, and in fact it is doubtful whether he ever did so in definite and unmistakable terms. I was visiting Lady Jane one day, and

showed to her and her daughters a book of Lyrics from Swinburne's Works, that had been published by Mosher, of Portland, U.S.A. It was of course a pirated book, but withal so charmingly printed and bound that it was a pleasure to look at it, and in that light Lady Jane appreciated what she termed a compliment to her gifted son. She asked my permission to show it to him, to which I gladly assented. Our talk then ranging over his poetry, I referred to the *Heptalogia*, and put the natural question as to its authorship. This Miss Alice Swinburne at once acknowledged, and praised the skill with which the book was compiled, in no measured terms. She had always promised me the poet's autograph, and together we decided that the best possible way would be to get him to sign my copy of the *Heptalogia*.

A little later on I sent both of the books, mine and Mosher's to her, and in her letter of April 15th, 1896, now before me, she says: "I shall be very glad to do as you wish, but I cannot give you much hope, for he really gets such endless applications for his opinion upon various writings that we scruple to trouble him, and I always take what I think a favourable opportunity (when he is with us in the country, generally,) to ask him for anything of this sort." Time went on, I often saw the three sisters, and they frequently alluded to this circumstance. "Al-

gernon," said they, "has got both your books, and some day you will get them back. We frequently remind him of them." The Mosher book he admired, and the selection from his poems was, he considered, a judicious one, but neither of the volumes came back into my hands for six long years. Meantime Lady Jane and Charlotte Swinburne had died, and only the elder and younger sisters, Alice and Isabel, remained.

On August 9th, 1902, there suddenly arrived a parcel from Putney containing three books, my own two returned, a copy of Swinburne's poems "from the author" and a quaint letter in guarded terms, which I promptly fastened into the Heptalogia.

"Dear Dr. Williamson," it ran, "I have much pleasure in complying with your request, and only wish what I send was better worth having.

"Yours very truly,

"A. C. Swinburne.

"The Pines,

"Aug. 8, 1902."

I hastened off to see my special friend, Isabel Swinburne (Alice, alas, was then ill, and she died in the following year), to tell her the good news, when she supplemented the information contained in the letter. It appeared that the two books had been discovered in Swinburne's

room at The Pines, and with them a memorandum from his elder sister Alice, asking him to write to me acknowledging the authorship. He was horrified at the discovery, as the books were in the packing paper in which they had remained all these years, and in penance for his omission he sent me the gift of his book.

Mr. Watts-Dunton, on whose judgment he placed such reliance, was not at home at the time, and Swinburne did not like, he said, "to disfigure my book," and not having his friend at hand to advise him, had written the letter I had received, and had at the same time told his sister what he had done, and asked her to explain to me when next we met that he did not know where to put his signature in the book, and also thought that, as it was issued anonymously, it would be incorrect to write inside it that he *was* the author.

Miss Swinburne offered to ask him again if I wished, but she advised me to fasten the letter in the book, and refer to the story in some other place, and I accepted very gladly her suggestion.

It was eleven years afterwards before I really knew Watts-Dunton. In the interval, we had corresponded briefly, and I had met Swinburne three or four times at his sister's house. He used to come fluttering in, quivering like a great butterfly, and moving with that extraordinary dancing movement that was so characteristic of him. Suddenly, and with much

elaborate ceremony, he would bow, and then, as a rule, relapse into silence. It was difficult, on account of his deafness, and his shyness, to obtain much information out of him, unless by chance one happened to refer to Elizabethan dramatists. Only once did I ever hear him talk with anything like emotion and emphasis, and it was then, to my great surprise, in praise of some ten lines by Tennyson, the final ones in the poem called "Audley Court." These Swinburne greatly admired. His phrase, so far as I can remember, was that they were "unapproachable in truth and beauty." He quoted other lines by Tennyson relating to the sea, with almost equal fervour, and then, all at once, he stopped speaking altogether, and not another syllable could I get him to utter. He was always, to me, a mysterious and unapproachable being, and even from his sisters, in later years, by reason of his deafness, he was very much apart. They were, however, perfectly satisfied at knowing that he was so well safeguarded, and down to within the last few weeks of her death, Miss Isabel Swinburne spoke to me with intense gratitude concerning his life in Putney.

His relatives were, on the contrary, my intimate friends, full of charm and fascination. Alice was the most artistic of the three, Charlotte deeply interested in books, and especially in early printing, Isabel full of genealogical and

pedigree lore, great at heraldry, and having at her fingers' ends all the history of some of our more curious peerage successions, especially that of the Barony of Willoughby de Eresby, with which her cousins the Burrells were concerned.

All of them were very devout members of the extreme High Church section of the Church of England, and deeply concerned at some of their brother's earlier productions, while fully recognizing his incomparable genius.

They possessed delightful pictures, fine family miniatures and drawings, choice old cabinets, and at least three superb water colours by Turner, so that their house was a treasure house of art and always a joy to visit.

Isabel was a person of very definite opinions, and spoke out her mind in no measured terms, especially when she considered that the reputation of her poet brother was concerned.

The younger brother, Edward, I only met on one occasion. He died in 1891.

In the autumn of 1913, I wrote to Watts-Dunton, reminding him of our earlier acquaintance, and using the name of Isabel Swinburne, asked him to write a Foreword to the volume I was then compiling on the Keats' poems and manuscripts at Hampstead. He gladly consented, and several letters passed between us, one of which is set forth in the recently published biography by Messrs. Ricketts and Hake. From

him I received another copy of Swinburne's poems, graced with his autograph and copies of his *Aylwin* and *Coming of Love*, and of Swinburne's books on Blake, Dickens, and Charlotte Bronte, similarly inscribed, as well as the wonderful Foreword to the Keats book, which was, alas ! the very last piece of literary work that he accomplished.

The MS. of this, and his delightful letters praising the Keats book in far too generous terms, are fastened into my own copy of the volume, together with others on the same topic from Mr. Buxton Forman, Sir Sidney Colvin, Viscount Morley, and other lovers of Keats, and all the corrected proofs are with them. Nothing that Mr. Watts-Dunton ever wrote was more graceful and charming than was this Foreword, and it was a peculiar joy to me to obtain this tribute from his pen.

Our talk when we met ranged over many subjects, but memories of Swinburne and his mother and sisters occupied the greater space, and he delighted in recalling to me many happy days he had spent with the family, and many delightful conversations in which he had taken part. The Swinburnes all loved him, and felt a debt of gratitude for all his goodness to their brother and all the considerate care he bestowed upon him for over twenty long years.

Few records of devoted friendship can equal

his. He had, as has been well said, "a genius for friendship," and to all who knew and loved him Watts-Dunton's memory is one of never fading fragrance.

THE END

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